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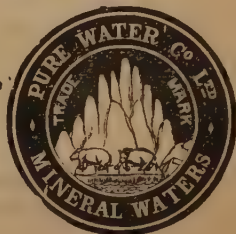
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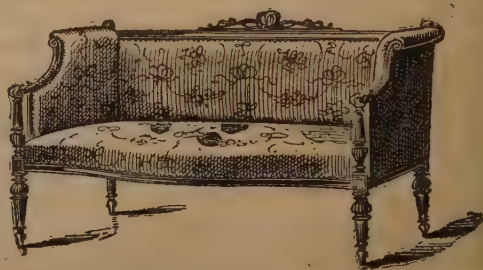
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THE  
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. CXXXVII. OCTOBER 1909.

ART. I.—THE MORAVIAN CHURCH AND THE PROPOSALS OF THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

1. *The Moravian Manual*. Published by Authority of the Provincial Synod of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America. (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.: Times Publishing Co. 1901.)
2. *Results of the General Synod of the Brethren's Unity of 1899*. Published by Authority of General Synod. (London: Moravian Publication Office, 32 Fetter Lane, E.C. 1900.)
3. *The History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum or The Unity of the Brethren*. By EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ, S.T.D., Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum. (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.: Moravian Publication Office. 1885.)
4. *A History of the Church known as the Moravian Church or The Unitas Fratrum or The Unity of the Brethren during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. By the Right Rev. J. TAYLOR HAMILTON, D.D. (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co. 1900.)
5. *A History of the Moravian Church*. By the Rev. J. E. HUTTON, M.A. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. (London: Moravian Publication Office. 1909.)
6. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion*. Holden at Lambeth Palace, July 27 to August 5, 1908. Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports. No. XI.(c). *Report of the Committee on the Unitas Fratrum*. (London: S.P.C.K. 1908.)

[In order to carry out the advice of the Lambeth Conference that every effort should be made to further the cause of Reunion by conference and study, it is proposed in a series of articles to discuss the problem from various points of view.<sup>1</sup> The articles will in each case be signed and the writers alone will be responsible for the views put forward.—ED. *C.Q.R.*].

LIKE most Protestant churches, the Moravian Church traces its origin to a revival of experimental religion. The revival occurred in an interesting country, amid stirring events, and exerted determinative influence on the character of the Church which proceeded from it. Bohemia was the scene of the noteworthy awakening. This land is one of the smallest of the world's famous countries, embracing an area of not more than twenty thousand miles. It lies diamond-shaped in the heart of Europe. Its boundaries are defended by mountain ramparts, and its corners, looking in the direction of the points of the compass, are protected by rocky bastions. Thus centrally situated like a natural fortress, Bohemia has been styled by military authorities the 'key' to modern Europe. Field of many battles, it was the centre of the dark and lurid tragedy of the Thirty Years' War, and supplied from among native sons the greatest captain of that conflict, Wallenstein, son of members of the *Unitas Fratrum*, but himself a pervert to Romanism. Holding strategic position, furnishing the battlefield where various great international disputes were submitted to the arbitrament of war, it goes with the saying of it that historically, too, the country is of importance. It has been convulsed by great questions of its own raising, and, what is of special interest to the present consideration, it anticipated by a century of brave struggle the general reformation of the sixteenth century. To the south-east

<sup>1</sup> Previous articles have dealt mainly with Presbyterianism. Reference may be made to 'The Lambeth Conference' (*C.Q.R.* October 1908), 'Presbyterianism and Reunion' (January 1909), 'The Problem of Reunion in Scotland,' by the Rev. J. Cooper, D.D. (April 1909), 'The Reunion Problem: a "Scottish Episcopal" View,' by the Very Rev. T. I. Ball, LL.D. (July 1909).



of Bohemia lies the much smaller margraviate of Moravia. The two have substantially the same history. They are one by the ties of fortune and misfortune. Both lands, once independent states, now provinces of the Austrian Empire, are regarded as the original seats of the 'Unitas Fratrum,' or Moravian Church.

Into the territory described there came, in the fifth century, the Czechs, a vigorous and high-minded people, the most gifted of the Slavonic tribes. Remnants of earlier peoples they either dispossessed or subdued. Two-thirds of the present inhabitants are descended from these Slavs, and they are still quite distinct from the German element, which makes up the rest of the population and which came in during the sixth and seventh centuries. The missionary interest of Christianity reached out to Bohemia about the middle of the ninth century. It proceeded from both the Latin and the Greek Church, a little earlier from the former but with much more vigorous expression from the latter. Cyril and Methodius, sent out by the Greek Church, became the apostles of the Bohemians and the Moravians. They translated the Scriptures into their language and established many churches. A marked feature of their work was the use of the language of the people, not only in giving instruction but also in public worship. Thus was laid the foundation for that national church feeling and the liberal principles, which thenceforward distinguished the Bohemians and Moravians. They were animated by a spirit akin to that which later manifested itself as Protestantism. Roman pontiffs were not indifferent to these developments. On the ground of the prior claims of the Latin Church, they used every influence at their command to bring the Bohemian and Moravian Church under their supremacy. Toward the close of the eleventh century, their zealotry was crowned with success. Bohemia and Moravia became subject to the Roman See. The Greek ritual fell into disuse, the vernacular was no longer employed in public worship. The prejudices of the period demanded that the Latin language and the Roman ritual should be exclusively used. But the impression left in the minds of the people

in favour of the use of the popular language for religious purposes was never effaced. The hearts of the people clung to the customs of their fathers. They were ready at any time to welcome a reformer. And this disposition was encouraged by men who rose among them as champions of the truth and proved to be heralds of a reformer, under whose guidance the intellectual and religious movement in Bohemia of the fourteenth century—a movement that had sprung from the work of the Greek missionaries and been nurtured in a variety of ways—should be turned into the channel of a national reformation.

In due time the reformer appeared. His name was John Hus. He was the forerunner of the *Unitas Fratrum*. He was educated at the University of Prague. Here his pure character led him to associate with all earnest seekers after truth, and to look with repugnance upon the glaring inconsistencies of many occupying high station in the Church. The excitement of the times, induced by the shameful schism in the papacy and the gradual spread of evangelical opinions, stirred his active mind and moved him to make a clear understanding of the Scriptures the great purpose of his life. Study of the writings of Wiclif deepened this resolution. The works of the 'Morning Star of the Reformation' had made their way into Bohemia largely through the influence of the liberal-minded Bohemian princess who had married Richard II. of England, one of 'the nursing mothers of the Reformation,' and the sympathy into which the Bohemian centre of learning had been drawn with Oxford. Hus soon rose to positions of commanding influence. As learned professor at the University of Prague and preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel—erected in the same city for the express purpose of giving the people a house of worship, in which the Gospel might be proclaimed in the vernacular—he laboured for truth and righteousness. With great power and eloquence he attacked the moral corruption prevailing among all classes. He lifted up his voice in protest against indulgences, sold to procure money for a papal war with the King of Naples, until all Prague was moved. Bull and interdict soon drove him from the



city. Yet his activity was not interrupted. Retirement was the occasion for important writings and preaching in various parts of the country. It was the seed-time of evangelical truth in Bohemia. Eventually, he was cited to appear before the general Church Council assembled at Constance. Refusing to recant, since his doctrines could not be refuted from the Scriptures, he was burnt alive as a heretic on July 6, 1415, his forty-seventh birthday.

The consequences of this act of violence were terrible. Bohemia was filled with indignation. A powerful party of nationalists flew to arms, and there ensued long and sanguinary contests, known as the Hussite Wars. For sixteen years the Bohemians defied all Europe, while their land suffered from the waste and damage of war to an extent begging description. Unfortunately for themselves, the Bohemians were divided into two parties. Gradually the distinction between them became pronounced. The Calixtines or Utraquists, as the names imply (*sub utraque*, under both kinds; *calix*, cup) contended for the restoration of the cup to the laity in the Lord's Supper. They were the aristocratic and conservative party. The Taborites, deriving their name from their camp, Mount Tabor, demanded a general reformation of the Church. Their principles were sound enough, based on the Scriptures as the only source of faith and rule of practice, but they often pushed their views to extreme and fanatical application. They were the democratic and radical party. The Council of Basle (1431), by concessions granted to the Bohemians, known as the Compactata of Basle, adroitly turned the two factions against each other. The civil war which followed resulted in the overthrow of the Taborites, and left the Calixtines constituted as the national church of Bohemia.

Amid the confusion, violence and degeneracy of the times, following the martyrdom of Hus, there were devout men of God, who did not take up arms, nor meddle in political commotion, nor give way to fanaticism. They fostered apostolic teaching, discipline and fellowship, true to the principles and practice of the Bohemian Reformer, which had been almost entirely forgotten by those who

professed to be his followers. These people constituted the genuine followers of Hus and furnished the seed of the *Unitas Fratrum*. They found no satisfaction in the semi-Romish National Church. Its leader, the eloquent Rockyzana, would not yield to their persuasion to lead a reform movement. In two respects, however, this remarkable man served them. He directed them to Peter Chelcic and secured for them permission to settle on the royal estate of Lititz, eighty miles to the east of Prague.

Peter Chelcic was an earnest layman and a forcible writer. He, also, had held aloof from the Hussite Wars, though he protested with all the vigour of a Puritan against the corruption of the times. He had investigated the great questions of the age with independent mind. He acknowledged no authority but the Scriptures. Prevalent doctrines concerning the Eucharist he repudiated, accepting the simple words of Scripture with reference to the Sacrament and believing in a spiritual presence of the body of Christ. His system subordinated the dogmatic to the practical. The views he expressed made a deep impression on the men whom Rockyzana sent to him, and exercised formative influence on their aspirations. His counsel moved them to retire without delay to the estate of Lititz, in order to begin an immediate reformation.

Under the leadership of Gregory, called the Patriarch, a nephew of Rockyzana, the settlement was begun in 1457. It comprised not merely common people but also nobles, priests, masters and bachelors of arts. Primarily, the idea was to form a Christian association rather than a new sect. Hence, the name Brethren, and subsequently *Unity of the Brethren* (*Unitas Fratrum*), was adopted. In their retreat they lived for some years undisturbed by the factions that rent the country. Seclusion did not result, however, in cloistering their interests. They were continually joined by like-minded persons. This, together with their lofty aim, prompted them to place their organization on a more solid basis, both in doctrine and in practice.

Gradually the compulsive force of conditions caused them seriously to consider the propriety of separating



entirely from the National Church and instituting an independent ministry. Persecutions, increasing corruptness of the Calixtine establishment, uncertainty of supply of pastors by secession from the same, as well as the advice of worthy friends led them to take the important step. They were staunch people and true: as their organization had gathered strength, they recognized that they had something worth the keeping and that they sustained weighty obligations over against their day and generation. At a synod, held ten years after the founding of the Society, three of their number were formally set apart for the ministry. This raised the serious question of proper ordination. Thorough discussion brought out that the Brethren were minded to secure such ordination of their pastors as even the Calixtines and Roman Catholics would be compelled to acknowledge. Hence, the introduction of the episcopacy was decreed. That was the only form of ministry then known, the validity of which would be generally admitted. Through the good offices of the Waldenses a priest who had joined the Unity received episcopal consecration. A colony of the ancient body of Waldenses lived at that time on the Moravian frontier. Their ministry, when in danger of dying out, had been renewed at the Council of Basle, when two of their priests, Frederick Nemez and John Wlach, had been consecrated by bishops of the Roman Catholic Church. It is very evident that the Brethren must have satisfied themselves fully that the Waldenses had a valid succession. It is very certain that neither Calixtines nor Roman Catholics ever questioned the validity of the Unity's ministry. Indeed, the (to them) indisputable fact that the *Unitas Fratrum* had valid orders fed the fury and ferocity of the persecutions they fomented.

In this manner, after years of gradual growth, the *Unitas Fratrum* had attained complete organization as a church. A well-ordered polity was gradually worked out. It is interesting to note that a form of government began to take shape before the episcopate was introduced. It tended toward the conferential form. While the episcopate

throughout the history of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum* was endowed with administrative power, the conferential idea was never entirely overshadowed. In the history of the resuscitated *Unitas Fratrum* the form of government was determined before the episcopate was sought, its fundamental principles being that all ecclesiastical affairs are collegiate and to be conducted by boards. The additional element of the episcopacy wrought no change as regards seat of power or manner of administration. Usually, bishops are to be found on the governing boards, but their office as such carries with it no ruling power.

Numerical increase of the Church was rapid. It speedily became a powerful body. Settlements and congregations sprouted up all over Bohemia, despite intermittent persecutions which were the more terrible because ecclesiastical intolerance made common cause with political tyranny. From having been looked upon as a despised sect, the Brethren came to be regarded as an honoured Church. Accessions to membership came from all classes, the plain people, wealthy and prominent citizens, professors of universities, landlords and nobles. When Luther appeared this evangelical church embraced about four hundred parishes with a membership of two hundred thousand. In process of time operations extended to Poland. In this way the *Unitas Fratrum* came to consist of three provinces—the Bohemian, Moravian and Polish.

Commensurate with the growth of the Church was its intense and diversified activity. Ecclesiastical resources were developed in various particulars. The native genius of the Church continually asserted itself in practical evangelism. From its famous precursor, John Hus, great reformer but also the most popular professor in the University of Prague of his day, inspiration had come to fight ignorance, as the fruitful mother of sin and error. Extended and thorough educational activity was, therefore, only natural. Theological seminaries were established. A confession of faith was elaborated. Hymn book, catechism and Bible were given to the people. The *Unitas Fratrum* enjoys the distinction of having been the first church ever



to put into the hands of the people a hymn book. The first edition bears the date 1501. It is, also, its honour to have been the first to translate the Bible into the Bohemian vernacular from the original tongues. This work was a model of idiomatic Bohemian and remains a linguistic authority to the present day. Printing presses, operated by the Church, were busy multiplying copies of these works and various theological treatises.

While building up their own organization the Brethren did not neglect to cultivate a sincere spirit of fellowship in their intercourse with other evangelical Christians. Even before determining upon an independent establishment, they had sought for some body of Christians maintaining true faith and an uncorrupted priesthood, with which they might make common cause. Then they had found none. With Luther they entered into friendly relations and, with some interruptions, occasioned especially on points of discipline, maintained them to the end of his life. Still more cordial was the relation between them and some of the other reformers, notably Bucer and Calvin. In their intercourse with these men they benefited in the matter of clearer definition of doctrine, and taught them, in turn, important lessons in ecclesiastical discipline. In 1570 they formed with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Poland what may be termed the first evangelical alliance, based on the instrument of agreement known as the Consensus of Sendomir.

‘Man proposes, God disposes.’ From the pinnacle of all this prosperity the *Unitas Fratrum*, in the inscrutable Providence of God, was plunged into the depths of adversity. Soon after the first reverses had befallen the cause of Protestantism in the Thirty Years’ War, the disastrous anti-reformation movement began in Bohemia and Moravia, under the rule of the rancorous Ferdinand II. This monarch, educated under Jesuit influences, had taken on himself the vow to exterminate all so-called heresy from his dominion. With the bitter fidelity of a fanatic he acted on his resolution. The sanctuaries of the Brethren, the Lutherans and the Reformed were closed. Their ministers

were banished. Their congregations were scattered and, as sheep without a shepherd, they wandered from place to place. There were many accessions to the noble army of martyrs. Thirty thousand families emigrated. Various methods of spoliation and oppression brought it about that the population of Bohemia was reduced from three millions to eight hundred thousand. Soon after the opening of the second quarter of the seventeenth century the Bohemian-Moravian branch of the *Unitas Fratrum* had ceased to exist. The Polish branch continued some decades longer. But, deprived of strength by being cut off from the main stem, it was grafted, in the end, upon the trunk of the Reformed Church in Poland.

At the close of the seventeenth century any observer of the times might have said that Protestantism was dead in Bohemia. He would hardly have found even the shadow of organization of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Yet there was left the scriptural 'remnant.' This, from an expression used by Comenius, famous educator and last bishop of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, has come to be called the 'Hidden Seed' of the Church. Here and there in the twin lands of its birth a Bible, a hymn book, confession or catechism was hidden in a cellar, in the wall, beneath the dog-kennel in the dwelling-places of those who cherished the traditions of the Church. Services were surreptitiously held. In bringing a pastor over the border to conduct them, the innocence of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent were displayed. Far afield, Bishop Comenius was engaged in educational labour in many lands. Yet he never ceased to labour in behalf of the *Unitas Fratrum* in all the lands he visited, especially in Holland. A prophetic anticipation of the resuscitation of the Church seems to have filled his mind. Hence he republished the discipline and order of the Unity, prefaced with an historical introduction, and dedicated the work, entitled *Ratio Disciplinae Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum*, to the Church of England, to which body he also commended the Church in the event of its renewal. Further, he republished the catechism, secured aid on more than one occasion for his persecuted

brethren, and cared for the preservation of the episcopate. Measures were taken for the consecration of Nicholas Gertich, Court Chaplain of the Duke of Liegnitz, and Peter Jablonski, pastor of a church at Danzig, through whom the succession was guarded for the renewed Church. Thus the traditions of the Church and the means for reconstructing its peculiar organization were preserved until the time came for replanting the 'Hidden Seed.'

Resuscitation of the Church was manifestly providential. No cunningly devised plan of men brought it about. The agents employed were moved chiefly by the desire to promote the interests of the Kingdom of God. They were led step by step, as were the founders of the Church, until the work of renewal on the old principles, invigorated by an infusion of new life from the evangelical church of Germany, was accomplished. 'Two extremes of society' were used as instruments to bring about the resuscitation. The one, Christian David, born in Moravia, once a bigoted Romanist, then after chequered 'Wanderjahre' brought to a full knowledge of the truth, was the first to come into touch with the 'Hidden Seed.' The other, a young Saxon nobleman, Count Zinzendorf, scion of an ancient Austrian house, had been reared under the pietistic influences emanating from the University of Halle in the days of Spener and Francke. Christian David, interested in finding a new home for the descendants of the *Unitas Fratrum*, was brought, in course of his travels as an evangelist, into touch with Zinzendorf. The result of their meeting was a promise to receive the awakened Moravians temporarily at Berthelsdorf, an estate of the Zinzendorf family.

In 1722 the first small group emigrated from Moravia. In an unreclaimed wilderness on the Zinzendorf estate they commenced the building of the settlement which received the name Herrnhut, and which became the mother-church of the renewed *Unitas Fratrum*. Larger and smaller companies of exiles followed. Month by month the settlement welcomed accessions. Most of these came from Moravia. The name 'Moravian Church' is, therefore, historically well accounted for. Some groups effected their escape



from the land of bondage only with great difficulty. Most were obliged to leave their possessions behind. The sacred stream, which to all appearance was entirely dried up, had only disappeared beneath the surface, to spring forth at Herrnhut a vigorous current with undiminished fertilizing and beautifying power. Earnest men and women were attracted from other places and other denominational connexions. Some came from remote parts of Germany. Increase of population furthered prosperity. Its varied elements produced, also, a ferment of disagreements on doctrinal points. The differences were based on sincere convictions, and did not hinder general cherishing of a desire for unity, which culminated in a gracious pentecostal experience—seal of divine approval to the beginnings at Herrnhut. These beginnings resembled those at Lititz, more than two and a half centuries before, for they were not inferior in privations, nor in cheerfulness under privations, nor in vigour for growth. Soon there was formed an extensive network of itineracy in various parts of the continent. Later this activity was called the ‘Diaspora,’ for it sought the promotion of vital godliness without endeavour to detach members from other Protestant bodies. Ten years after the founding of Herrnhut, the first messengers to the heathen went forth, the missionary field being destined, in the event, to absorb the chief attention and best effort of the Church. Such prospering of the cause of the Brethren made clear the divine purpose that the *Unitas Fratrum* should be resuscitated. Zinzendorf was reluctant to accept the idea until the transfer of the episcopate was consummated in 1735, Bishop Daniel Ernst Jablonski, who had been consecrated in due order, having convinced himself that the exiles at Herrnhut were the rightful representatives of this ancient evangelical church. David Nitschman and Zinzendorf were the first bishops. More and more it became apparent that renewal of the Church had been brought about for the work of foreign missions and the preservation of experimental religion in an age when the blight of rationalism was widely spread and the pietistic movement had suffered an inner decay.

Beginnings of Moravian activity in England and America followed within the second decade after the founding of Herrnhut. In each of these countries an aggressive evangelism was prosecuted, amid circumstances at once promising and forbidding. Some features of pioneer activity in America may serve to illustrate particularly, because in this country the necessity of assuming distinctly denominational forms of effort, under which Christianity has usually developed, became more speedily apparent. Circumstances brought it about that Moravians established their first American settlement in Georgia in the spring of 1735. True to their designs, they brought the Gospel to Indians and negro slaves. Unfortunately, in a few years the war which had broken out between England and Spain interfered with their work to such an extent that the settlement was brought to an untimely end. This did not occur, however, before an interesting and significant transaction had taken place. It is thus described by Miss Adelaide L. Fries in *Moravians in Georgia*:

‘An event which occurred on March 10 [1736] is of more than local interest, in that it is the first unquestioned instance of the exercise of episcopal functions in the United States. Prior to this, and for a number of years later, clergymen of the Church of England, and English-speaking Catholic priests, were ordained in the Old World before coming to the New, remaining under the control of the Bishop and of the Vicar Apostolic of London, while the Spanish Catholics were under the Suffragan of Santiago de Cuba, and the French Catholics under the Bishop of Quebec. Tradition mentions the secret consecration of two Bishops of Pennsylvania before this time, but its authenticity is doubted, and the two men did not exercise any episcopal powers. Therefore, when Bishop Nitschman came to Georgia and, in the presence of the Moravian congregation at Savannah, ordained one of their number to be their pastor, he was unconsciously doing one of the “first things” which are so interesting to every lover of history.’

The American work of the Moravians was transferred to Pennsylvania, the broad and liberal charter of which had attracted their attention. Here they conceived it to be their mission to minister to the needs of the many immigrant

religionists who sought a new home in the colony, but were, for the most part, as sheep without a shepherd, and, still worse, distracted and demoralized by sectarian controversy; to provide instruction for the youth in whose interest but few schools had been established; to take the Gospel to the Indians who roamed through the forests. So fine a purpose was exacting in its demands. The Moravians were equal to the demands. They divided the members of their settlements into two sets, the one to conduct missionary and educational activity, the other to provide for the support of missionaries and teachers by carrying on agriculture, manufactures and trades of every sort—a temporary system called the ‘Economy,’ and maintained for twenty years. This arrangement enabled them to conduct for some time an evangelistic activity, using the term in its broadest sense, that made neglected and savage peoples feel the thrill of a strong religious life. It was ‘diaspora’ and missionary effort. The aim was to promote true Christian living without interfering with the work of any denomination. At one time fifty itinerants and missionaries were engaged in this unselfish labour.

Quite in harmony with the spirit of this activity an interesting attempt was made to unite the different German religious bodies of Pennsylvania in closer fellowship. Zinzendorf was the life of the movement, as he was, to the end of his career, the dominant figure in all the widespread Moravian interests. The effort to effect an evangelical alliance of German Protestants in Pennsylvania proved, however, an impracticable ideal for the conditions of those days, and, to say the least, was far in advance of the times. Its inevitable failure, coupled with the fact that other denominations, particularly the Lutheran and the Reformed, were assuming organic form in America, forced the Moravians to shape the course of their activity anew. As they had gained a foothold in the not inconsiderable number of preaching places established in seven of the original thirteen colonies, the logic of events gradually led them to enter upon the natural denominational effort of church extension.



Reflex influence of developments in America, as well as significant experiences elsewhere, in time gave to the work of the Church on the Continent of Europe and in Britain more definite denominational character and to its organization denominational distinctness. Gradually the Continental, British and American Provinces were formed. In them Zinzendorf's idea of a church within the Church—*ecclesiola in ecclesia*—and, especially, in the extended 'diaspora' activity still carried on in various countries of Europe, continued to prevail. This served to keep the Church numerically much smaller than it might otherwise have been, but also to foster the spirit of missionary zeal, which caused Moravian congregations among the heathen to multiply greatly, and lighted the sacred flame of missionary enthusiasm in other religious bodies. The Home Provinces have, according to the statistics of 1908, a communicant membership of 28,827 and a total membership of 42,739; the Foreign Missions a communicant membership of 32,748 and a total membership of 101,483. The Diaspora on the Continent of Europe numbers about 70,000 persons, who are formed into societies and ministered to spiritually by 59 missionaries of the Moravian Church, but remain members of the State Churches.

As regards doctrine, the Renewed Church has put forth no formulated creed, no single document bearing the name of a Confession of Faith. It points, however, to several works which bear the authority of General Synod and set forth the doctrines it teaches. These are *An Exposition of Christian Doctrine as taught in the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, by Bishop Spangenberg (Barby, 1779), translated into English by La Trobe, and published in 1784; *A Catechism for the Instruction of Youth in the Church of the United Brethren*, in various editions, both German and English; *An Epitome of Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Candidates for Confirmation*; and a chapter on Doctrine in the *Synodal Results*. "The Easter Morning Litany," moreover, contains a brief Confession of Faith, and is used annually in all Moravian churches in Christian and heathen lands. From these authorized publications it appears that

the Moravian Church is, as respects doctrinal belief, in substantial agreement with other evangelical churches. The Scriptures are accepted as the standard of faith and practice. The person and offices of Jesus Christ are given great prominence in the Moravian pulpit and literature. Controversy, dogmatizing and abstruse speculation are eschewed, though there is the disposition always to defend the cardinal points of faith when attacked. Scriptural discipline of the Church is built up on the principle that evidence of personal piety must be added to professed adhesion to creed as a necessary condition to membership. Polity of the Church, development of which has been roughly outlined in the historical sketch, is skilfully and wisely balanced. Ritual, comparatively brief and embodying a limited number of formularies, seeks the golden mean between order and uniformity on the one hand, liberty and flexibility on the other.

A Church with a history so rich in experiences of Divine favour, in zeal of unselfish evangelists and teachers, in testimony of martyrs, is possessed of a distinct churchly consciousness. To indicate this the brief account given of its origin and development has been an historical requirement. This clear churchly consciousness resides in its noble traditions, its finely balanced constitution, its venerable institutions, its beautiful customs, its splendid enterprises. With this the Church approaches all problems and questions that confront it. In dealing with them it must be true to its high calling and true to itself. It has inherited high position and its members feel that to it they must be faithful.

A more than ordinarily weighty question is brought before the Moravian Church in the proposals drawn up by the Lambeth Conference for a closer union between the Anglican and Moravian Churches. Its importance is enhanced by the fact that the larger question of Christian Unity is involved. It is a matter that concerns the great petition of our Lord, 'That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.' No true Christian can be indifferent to such a project. In

various quarters of Moraviandom there is considerable interest in it. The consciousness of the Church has come to expression upon it in various carefully stated views and vigorous pronouncements.

The Moravian Church would not be true to itself if it did not welcome any honest effort to bring about Christian unity. For unity in spirit of the Church of God on earth it has never ceased to labour, to pray, to endure, if need be, persecution of fire and sword, since the days of the earliest organization, four and a half centuries ago. It has 'ever maintained and practically exhibited the position of a true Union Church, in which individual Christians of every Protestant denomination can meet, as on common ground.' There have been many practical demonstrations of this union spirit. Through all the marvellous mutations of the centuries of its existence the Church has maintained its sincere devotion to the shibboleth of its founders, 'One is your Master, and all ye are Brethren.' The recent expression of the Anglican Church of a desire for closer communion with other Christian communities represents an honest effort for Christian unity. The Lambeth proposals to the Moravian Church are, we take it, only tentative, yet they stand for a real effort to bring about unity of the Church of God on earth. Moravians respect and honour such a proposition for union, coming from the great national, historic Church of England, the more so because from this body they have received liberal aid for their widely extended missionary operations. More than one reason prompts them to do so. Connexion between the two Churches reaches back some three hundred years, in course of which communications of greater or less import and of mutual interest have passed between prominent Anglican divines and authorities of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Many features are common to the two communions. The proposals are very evidently presented with an earnest desire to heal the dissensions of the Church, that have precipitated so many melancholy experiences. They proceed from an eminently Christian spirit. The Archbishop of Canterbury and a number of bishops have exhibited great zeal in the matter



and urged strong arguments for closer affiliation of the two bodies. The time is ripe for Christian communions to come into closer fellowship. To all these considerations the Moravian Church is fully alive. It recognizes that they lay a great weight of responsibility upon itself. It is in no mood to shirk the responsibility.

At the same time, Moravians cannot be unmindful of the fact that union of Churches is most difficult of achievement. History recalls that some of the most able and fervent of Christ's disciples have been occupied with the solution of the problem without solving it. This obtrudes itself upon notice. It constrains to very critical investigation of any new scheme put forward in the hope of accomplishing so great an object. Examination of the Lambeth Conference proposals from the Moravian point of view makes it hard to repress some feeling of disappointment; and this for several reasons. That which the Anglican proposals offer as alliance—and we do not question that it is a *bona fide* offer of honourable alliance, according to the Anglican view-point—spells for Moravians, particularly in the light given by the interpretation of the Lambeth proposals in the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, subordination, or, at least, assimilation to the Anglican model. The unstinted unofficial appreciation of Moravian missionary zeal on the part of Anglicans—flattering estimates of which Moravians have often felt themselves quite unworthy—recognition of the *Unitas Fratrum* by Act of Parliament in 1749, and the well-known fact that there have been and are to-day many Anglican bishops who have no doubt as to the validity of the episcopate among the Moravians, had raised the expectation of what would have appeared to the *Unitas Fratrum* a frank recognition on equal footing. The official overtures of the Lambeth Conference, drawn and presented in a most fraternal spirit, have brought into sharp relief the different position which the traditions of the two bodies require them to take in such an effort. The differences of view come into the open the more strongly because the Lambeth proposals base the movement for union on principles undeniably denominational in character, whereas the trend of Christian

bodies is toward recognition on other than denominational lines, toward enjoyment of fellowship and intercommunion on fundamental Christian principles. The reaffirmation of denominational standards as a basis of union has, in turn, injected technicalities into the issue which rob the undoubted spirit of unity that animates the proposals of its spontaneity, and force it into conventional and artificial grooves.

Some of these causes of disappointment are the inevitable consequences of differing churchly ideals, some lead to deeper considerations that modify the sense of disappointment, some would involve necessary concessions, certain of them present real difficulties. We will consider the last.

The Lambeth proposals affect an important constitutional principle of the *Unitas Fratrum*. For the Anglican Church a common episcopacy and valid orders form the natural basis of Church union—indeed, are an essential condition to it. Anglicans look upon the episcopacy as meeting all the requirements of such a true basis. According to their persuasion, the whole conception of the Church, the ministry, the polity, the discipline, the ritual, are bound up with it. While the three orders of ministry are maintained among Moravians, episcopacy is not among them regarded in the same way. They prize episcopal succession, secured in the manner already set forth, as ‘a valuable inheritance, as one of the principal links which cement the former and the present Unity, and as the historic form of its organic life.’ But General Synod has also laid down this among fundamental principles: ‘*The office of Bishop imparts in and by itself no manner of claim to the control of the whole Church, or to any part of it; the administration of particular dioceses does, therefore, not belong to the Bishops.*’ They are represented in General Synod, have seat and vote at Provincial and District Synods, but their office carries with it no ruling power in the Church. Their special function is ordination of ministers. Their office, moreover, is defined to be ‘in a peculiar sense that of intercessors in the Church of God.’ They wield spiritual influence. Such a polity, obviously, differs considerably from the diocesan episcopacy of the Church of England. It cherishes episcopacy as a valuable

part of Catholic tradition, it does not regard it as embodying all of Catholic tradition with respect to government and discipline. It has allowed the Church to enjoy the advantages of a confederal form of government, giving marked prominence to the Headship of Jesus Christ over the Church in all its proceedings; it has enabled it to recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination. It has planted the Church on the comfortable ground of historic organized fellowship of Christians and secured to it a heritage of spiritual liberty. Such a constitutional principle would hardly be consonant with the requirements concerning episcopacy necessarily associated with the Lambeth Conference proposals.

From this it follows that the Lambeth proposals set forth a method of achieving Christian unity somewhat different from that steadily held in view by Moravians. The definite and clear cut propositions made by the Anglican authorities very naturally lift valid orders into great prominence, as a necessary condition to closer relationship between the two bodies concerned. In this they are quite consistent with the views Anglicans have always held. Hence, their offer is in itself best proof of their sincerity and the genuineness of their proposition. Moravians, in their estimation of religious and ecclesiastical values for Christian unity, quite as naturally rate episcopacy as of secondary interest. Their standpoint is that the basis of union consists in the fundamental facts of Christianity. Episcopacy, in their view, may be very useful to the attainment of the laudable object, but it is not essential. Principles of religion and faith, they hold, commend themselves to all the seriously minded as proper ground for Christian union, and even Church union. The end held in view by both communions, viz. alliance that shall have substantiality, agreement that shall have vitality, is the same: the method of approach held by each to be feasible differs from the other.

Again, the Lambeth proposals imperil the unity of the Moravian Church. The *Unitas Fratrum* is a widespread confederation. It is the only Protestant Church that subsists as one organic unit throughout the world. Its



constitution has already been referred to. As a body the members of the Moravian Church are governed by the General Synod, which meets at Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany, once a decade. This supreme legislature consists of the Unity's officials, representatives of the bishops of the Church, elected delegates of the home provinces, and representatives from the mission fields. The Synod legislates on matters common to the whole—the Church's constitution, doctrine, discipline, and foreign missions. Its elected executive carries out its decisions and exercises general superintendence in the intersynodal periods. The name 'Unitas Fratrum' is, therefore, no misnomer. For more than a century and three quarters the renewed Unitas Fratrum has, notwithstanding wide dispersion, remained singularly united, while provincial autonomy has been granted to the several financially independent divisions. It has been no easy thing to maintain such unity. Differences of nationality, of view, of development in respective fields and enterprises have presented serious difficulties that had to be reckoned with. Yet organic unity has been preserved. The sun never sets on the Moravian Church. Its activity continues ceaselessly throughout the twenty-four hours of every day of every year. In itself, widely established and embracing different peoples, it holds before Christendom a most impressive example of Christian unity. Should, in accordance with the scheme presented in the Lambeth resolutions, Anglican orders be superadded to the Moravian, there would be, for an indefinite interval, difference in the standing of various Moravian ministers. Parity between the Anglican clergy and the Moravian clergy is not recognized in the proposals. The plan of Union would introduce into the Moravian Church another line of ordination. Hitherto, a Moravian minister ordained anywhere has been on the same ecclesiastical footing with every other Moravian minister. Under the proposed plan of Union there would be two kinds of Moravian ministers, and the difference in status of these differently ordained men over against the Anglican Church would be very apparent. Thus the Moravian Church would have to deal with a confusing and disturbing element.

Whether this would lead to disruption of the ancient and treasured Moravian Unity is a debateable question. The possibility of it may not be overlooked. In the nature of the case the risk could not be taken unless there were reasonable assurances that there would be corresponding gain.

A further consideration may not be left out of account. The Moravian Church occupies a unique position among Protestant denominations. By affinity, by historical connexion, by practical relations it is drawn into sympathy with many of them. This is true with respect to Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Lutherans, Reformed, as well as Anglicans. Between these large and important bodies the Moravian Church has been spoken of as holding a position of mediation; in England it seems clearly to hold such a position between the Anglican Church and Nonconformists. This is an important position, and may at any time be invested with great power and influence for good in the direction of Christian unity. Some prominent Moravians have believed very firmly that their Church had been preserved amid all the perils threatening its existence for some specific purpose, and that the special purpose might well be the drawing together of Christians of every name. Now there is offered a special alliance with the Anglican Church, on avowedly denominational lines. It is alliance, moreover, that appears to involve approach to Anglican standards and that would probably mean measurable absorption of the smaller body by the larger, for no assurances to the contrary, however sincere—and we do not for a moment question their honesty—can prevent the working of ‘the law of spiritual and ecclesiastical gravitation.’ Would not the entering upon such alliance retard rather than promote the cause of general Christian unity? Unmistakeably, the tendency among the large majority of believers is to grow above and beyond denominational boundaries into Christian fellowship and intercommunion. For the Moravian Church to surrender the position as mediator between the various Christian bodies and, by accepting in lieu thereof particular alliance, to revert to the denominational principle as a condition of fellowship, would

be, to say the least, assuming grave responsibility that cannot be entered into without most carefully taking into account possible consequences.

It is not strange that when two individuals or two bodies of strong and decided self-consciousness attempt to meet each other on any important matter all differences should immediately leap into prominence. That is a familiar phenomenon in all human history, wherever and whenever men or bodies of men have come into contact. The natural consequence of the realization of differences has always been an attitude of challenge. Parties have been obliged to stop in order to measure and scrutinize each other most carefully. Mutual acquaintance and appreciation have taught them tolerance, often not without conflict. On the basis of true toleration great and truly wonderful agreements have been brought about—never, however, without the exercise of much patience and forbearance. Christian unity is a magnificent ideal. It is not beyond hope of realization ; at the same time it is difficult to approach. It is worthy of the finest efforts of all Christian bodies. No alliance or agreement may be contracted that the parties cannot enter into fully, freely, enthusiastically and with honour to themselves. Else would the ideal be lowered. The noteworthy proposals of the Lambeth Conference will probably be met by counter-proposals in some form. Moravians are convinced of the honesty and good will which inspired the Lambeth proposals, and they will emulate their Anglican brethren in these qualities. Whatever the result, the negotiations will not have been in vain. Christian bodies have much to learn from each other and about each other through just such efforts. Then they may hope to enlarge and enrich their life and experience by intelligent adjustment of their relations to each other, while the disappointments they encounter and the hopes they cherish serve to bring into ever clearer and brighter definition the ideals they hold in common.

W. N. SCHWARZE.

[Since the above was written the General Synod of the Moravian Church, convened at Herrnhut from May 18 to



July 3, 1909, has taken formal action on the Lambeth Proposals. The result of their deliberations will be found for English readers in the *Moravian Messenger* (July 2, 1909),<sup>1</sup> which contains a full account of the debate. Very noticeable are not only the spirit of Christian unity in which the resolutions were discussed but also the attitude of friendship towards the Church of England and gratitude for its overtures. Certain proposals were put forward by the British delegates: they were introduced to the Synod by Bishop Hassé and discussed at great length in a friendly spirit. They were referred to a committee, carefully considered and revised, and then in their amended form unanimously adopted by the whole Synod. The proposals, the unanimous result of this earnest and careful deliberation, will be received and considered by the Church of England in the same spirit with which they have been put forth. They definitely bring the two Churches nearer to each other. —ED. C.Q.R.]

The Preamble and Resolutions adopted unanimously by the General Synod of the Moravian Church on June 22, 1909, are the following :—

#### PREAMBLE.

‘ The General Synod of the Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum), mindful of her ancient friendship with the Anglican Communion, rejoices in the prospect of closer relations on the basis of our common Faith, and the service of our common Lord; and hopes that a step may thus be taken towards the greater Unity of Christendom, to the glory of our Father in Heaven.

‘ With regard to the several proposals of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, this Synod resolves :

‘ I. That we welcome the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference (1908) on Intercommunion with our Church as expressing a true Christian desire for Unity; and while we do not hold that any visible succession in the Ministry is essential to the continuity of the Catholic body of Christ

<sup>1</sup> Published at 32 Fetter Lane, E.C.

we accept mutual participation in the consecration of Bishops, if the authorities of either Church should give an invitation to the authorities of the other Church, as a fitting symbol of Intercommunion.

‘ II. That we adhere strictly to our principle that “ the Holy Scriptures are our only rule of faith and life,” and at the same time refer to the official statements of successive Synods as showing that our understanding of the Scriptures agrees substantially with the recognised doctrinal standards of Reformed Christendom (*e.g.* the Nicene Creed, the Augsburg Confession, the Articles of the Church of England and the Westminster Confession).

‘ III. That we hold that Inter-communion with the Anglican Church must rest on the same mutual recognition and freedom to co-operate as now exists between us and several Churches, Episcopal and other, in Europe and America ; and, corporate union not being in question, we regard our position as that of an independent branch of the Church Catholic, “ an Ancient Protestant Episcopal Church ” as described in the Act of Parliament 22 Geo. II cap. 120.

‘ IV. That we cordially agree in principle to the mutual recognition of the authorities of the respective Churches in their several functions ; and in regard to the future position of our Bishops we consider that the interests of the effort towards Inter-communion will be best served, and possible misunderstandings be most readily avoided, if the principle of absolute independence within the separate jurisdictions of both Churches is observed and maintained on the basis of mutual ecclesiastical equality.

‘ V. That, although from the earliest days of our Church our custom has been, as in the Eastern Orthodox Church, to have the rite of Confirmation performed by the chief minister of each congregation, yet modifications in the administration of Confirmation, if desired by any province, be sanctioned, provided they are not such as would raise any difficulty with regard to our fully recognising the position of Communicant members who have not been confirmed by a Bishop, or of Communicant

members of other Churches which do not observe this rite.

‘ VI. That we should welcome any arrangements that might be made for the Ministers of one Communion to preach on special occasions in the churches of the other Communion during the period of transition between the acceptance of the principles of Inter-communion and their formal ratification.

‘ VII. That the General Directing Board on behalf of any Mission Province, and the Synod of any self-governing Province on its own behalf, be empowered to take the needful steps to realise Inter-communion with the Anglican Church, in accordance with the foregoing resolutions ; but that these resolutions shall become operative in any self-governing Province only after the Synod of that Province has given its approval to them.

‘ VIII. That General Synod empowers the Bishops of the British Province, together with the British P.E.C. [Provincial Elders’ Conference], to conduct future negotiations, as need arises, with the Committee appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.’

## ART. II.—THE PROBLEM OF MORALS IN FRANCE

1. *La Crise morale des temps nouveaux.* Par PAUL BUREAU (Paris : Blond et Cie. 1908.)
2. *Éducation ou Révolution.* Par GABRIEL SÉAILLES. (Paris : Armand Colin. 1904.)
3. *Questions littéraires et sociales.* Par RENÉ BAZIN, de l’Académie Française. (Paris : Calmann-Lévy. 1907.)
4. *Morale et Société.* Par GEORGE FONSEGRIVE. (Paris : Blond et Cie. 1908.)
5. *La Morale et la Science des Mœurs.* Par L. LÉVY BRÜHL. (Paris : Félix Alcan. 1907.)
6. *Discours de Combat.* Trois Séries. Par F. BRUNETIÈRE de l’Académie Française. (Paris : Perrin et Cie. 1907-8.)
7. *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools: Report of*



*an International Inquiry.* Edited by M. E. SADLER, Professor of the History and Administration of Education in the University of Manchester. Two Volumes. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1908.)  
and other Works.

FRANCE has been called 'the suffering servant of the peoples.' For a century and a quarter she has been making tremendous experiments in many departments of her national life, of which experiments some have capital significance for those of her neighbours who are willing to learn. She has made most of them light-heartedly, as is her wont, and all of them with a touching, if transitory, faith in their promise. From the effects of some of them she has recovered with a rapidity and apparent completeness surprising to those who have not lived on terms of intimacy with the spirit that is hers. If it is, as one of her poets has said, that 'out of England have come, like its native fogs, the ideas that have darkened everything,' it is open to an Englishman to retort that it is on French soil that the experiences which have most shocked and unsettled the conscience of Christendom in recent times have been wrought. Our forefathers kept a watchful and jealous eye upon France as the unquiet centre of political influences with which it behoved them to be concerned. We shall be wise as they if we still keep a watchful, though no longer a jealous, eye upon France. She has ceased to be the workshop of sinister political influences; but she has become increasingly in late years the matrix of more fateful influences of the moral and spiritual order. According to the daily repeated testimony of many of her own children, she is decadent, and even far gone in her decline. Remembering that there is still a Church in France, into which presently the breath of a new and freer life may be breathed, and remembering, too, that the larger half of the French people live their ordered, frugal, and laborious years apart from the ferment of town life, we need not make haste to reject this testimony. But we shall be foolish if we are heedless of what is happening in France.

We have been made familiar with the phenomena of Modernism, which, it must be remembered, is largely a French product. Modernism presents itself to most of us as a revolt against the too pervasive authority, and to some extent against the too constrictive system, of the Roman Church. But French Churchmen—even Churchmen of liberal sympathies—do not seem to realize it as a constructive force. Their minds are too much wedded to the idea of Authority and to the clearness both of logical definition and of rigid belief to be able to receive it sympathetically. They merely look upon it as an eddy of an insurgent tide which, in France more than elsewhere, is bearing against the pillars of the fabric of social, moral, and religious convictions whereby men live. Its future in France would be more distinctly hopeful if it could be taken simply for what it purports, and honestly purports, to be ; if it could be understood not as a destructive, but as a constructive movement. An *éclaircissement* on this point is needed, and it will come ; but meanwhile, and as things are, Modernism stimulates a resistance to its movement not only from the forces of Ultramontane reaction and from the people who have been called ‘the children of tradition,’ but also from other forces which are disengaged by the dread of a moral cataclysm and social disruption. Much more than the prestige and power of the Roman Curia are thus felt to be at stake, and many of those who, in another country or in a happier time, would look with favour upon a Modernist movement, have been constrained to help to thwart it. For indeed the revolt in France has swept far beyond the barriers set up by the Faith. It is battering the bastions of the citadel of Morality itself. ‘We have in the past written moving pages to shew that religious dogmas are coming to an end,’ exclaims a leading French liberal : ‘To-day we could write still more moving pages on a more vital question—the evanescence of moral dogmas.’ We shall presently see that the statement is one of simple truth.

French morals, public and private, have for some time been seriously disquieting the hearts of patriots of every

creed. The cold testimony of official statistics reveals an ever-increasing ratio of crimes and criminals.<sup>1</sup> The growing criminality of French youth is especially alarming. Fifteen years ago, even five years ago, the facts used to be called in question. The statistics were subjected to minute and repeated scrutiny with the object of discounting their evidence. Interpretations were forced upon them to make them tell a tale other than that which is written upon them. It has now become clear that these efforts were wasted. The fact that crimes and criminals are constantly growing in number is now generally admitted,<sup>2</sup> and the efforts have taken a new direction—that of belittling the significance of the growth, or of expressing comfort for the future out of it by means of a tortuous logic, or of turning it to account in strengthening the demand for a total reconstruction of society, by a demonstration that the society in which we live is hopelessly evil.

What of the moral transgressions of which the law takes no cognisance? There is no reason to doubt that those French publicists who maintain that these, too, are constantly growing are right. The relaxation of established restraints, the disintegration of moral sentiment, the debasement of the moral ideal, have been made commonplaces of discussion by others besides professed moralists. Much eloquence is being expended on the exposition of the evil condition of society, and the remedies to be applied have been set forth with passionate pleading. Here, again, the denials which used not to lack confidence and energy are growing more hesitant and qualified. Whereas the facts used to be denied and the allegation of them accounted to be a clericalist device, mere tactics of a discredited Church party, nowadays the facts are generally admitted, sometimes with

<sup>1</sup> See the *C.Q.R.* for January 1908, Art. 'Education and Crime. See also *La Revue des Deux Mondes* for December 1, 1907 ('Le problème criminel'), and *La Revue hebdomadaire* for March 14, 1905 ('Les manifestations des jurys').

<sup>2</sup> The Prix du Budget of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques for 1908 is awarded for the best treatment of the question: 'Des causes et des remèdes de la criminalité croissante de l'adolescence.'



sorrow, but oftener with triumphant emphasis on their value as being prophetic of the disappearance of an outworn social order. The moral evils which fester in society are, we are assured, the natural and inevitable product of the capitalistic system. They will disappear when that system disappears. Their growing ripeness is evidence that the desired reconstruction of society cannot tarry long. Foul as they are, they bring hope; for they are the heralds of the dawn of the day of equal justice and opportunity and of universal brotherhood, which shall own no God and tolerate no priest. In the meantime, however loth we may be to make the admission, it must nevertheless be admitted that French morals are in a bad way. And even if we allow the ancient gibe that with the French people the conduct which is three parts of life was never a strong point, it cannot be comforting to us to note that their behaviour is falling away from its previous standard. There is no profit for Christendom in the corruption of one of its fairest parts.

Practical morals and ethical inquiry have an intimate connexion, no doubt, though it is extremely puzzling to define that connexion. Perhaps we need not at the moment attempt a definition. Suffice it for the present purpose to say, as the French would say, that they are *solidaires* with each other. They act and react, however obscurely, upon each other. The debasement of conduct implies a debasement in the currency of moral reflexion. A lowered tone and quality of moral reflexion implies a depression in the quality of conduct. Now, the French mind has not in the past shewn any special disposition to moral reflexion in general. It has fashioned no theory of morals which has caught the attention of the world. It has concerned itself very little with the metempiric of ethics. It has been content to leave these things to be handled by the Teutonic genius. It has been willing to borrow the ethical doctrine which it has found serviceable either from beyond the Rhine or from England. French poetry and fiction have neither of them been especially characterized by the ethical interest which they have developed and maintained

French poetry, regarded as a criticism of life, suffers by comparison with the poetry of other peoples. The French novel has seldom contemplated life in its breadth and totality. It does not do so to-day. Its interest is psychological rather than ethical. Not life as it is, but life at a flash-point is its theme, even at its best.<sup>1</sup> In only one department of literature, and that a minor department, has the French genius expressed itself in deliberate moral criticism and reflexion; and even here the outlook and impulse are rather those of the artist than the moralist. The long line of writers of *portraits*, *caractères*, *pensées*, beginning with Montaigne and ending with Joubert, have given us work of serious ethical import; but the import is so subordinated, as M. Lévy-Brühl remarks, as almost to appear accidental. The French temperament has been inapt to the work of sustained reflexion upon conduct and the contents of the Moral Consciousness, and until recently it has felt little need of such reflexion. French *dévotional* literature has in the past incidentally supplied as much of this as was eagerly desired.

But things have changed. Current literature, of the serious, non-fictional kind, has in France recently acquired an active ethical interest. Even the reviews which cater for the general reading public find it necessary to supply the demand for discussions of moral problems. Ethics have rather suddenly stepped down into the street. They have shewn a strong disposition to discard the array with which the Germans have invested them. They prefer *déshabillé*. They have taken to speaking a language understood by the people, and they address themselves frankly to them.

It may be conceded to one of the authors whose works we have named at the head of this article that theories of morals have no very manifest effect upon the practice of them. We shall not be able to agree with him that they have no effect at all but are themselves effects of the conduct which they essay to explain. Ethical theories work circuitously upon morals and they need time. Hegelianism, for instance, which, we are told, has had little visible

<sup>1</sup> Cf. René Bazin, *Études*, p. 97.

influence upon morals in the land of its birth, has had a measurable effect upon Scottish character and conduct, mediated by the pulpit teaching of the men who were nurtured upon it in Scottish University classes. But even if ethical theory has been impotent in the past, it can hardly be impotent in the future, now that it has taken to the market-place and the street. What French moralists are preaching from their professorial chairs or in pages of reviews to-day will assuredly be what some of the people will believe and act upon to-morrow. What is the substance of the new preaching? Preaching there is because needs must; if not the preaching of the Church, then some other. The French people, M. Bureau, one among many, tells us, have lost their faith. They have dispensed with their traditional religion, but a basis of morals they must have or they perish. In vain do M. Guyau, M. Lévy-Brühl, and their school assure them that they need not be in a hurry, that the existing morality will serve them until it is effectively superseded by a better. The uneasy conscience within urges them to believe that it would be safer to have a secure foundation on which to build conduct at once, if it can be had. That is why they are engaging in unwonted moral reflexion, and partly why moral ideas are fermenting in France as they have never fermented before. That is why, too, they are ready to listen to anyone who affects to have a message of moral significance to deliver.

What, then, is the substance of the new moral evangels which are being preached in France? One essential characteristic they have in common—they are all naturalistic. True, there are still some teachers who have Kantian affinities—MM. Gabriel Séailles, Deherme, and Fouillée, for example—who are listened to with respect; but the drift of thought upon morals is away from them. 'Morality is the natural product of human evolution. In proportion as its methods are perfected it will acquire more and more of the notes of a true science. It is entirely independent of all religion and metaphysics, and it is secular in its essence.' So ran the resolution passed at the Congress of the French Education League held at Amiens in 1904. Within the limits



indicated by such a declaration as this there is, of course, room for divergences of doctrine, and the divergences are many—so many that M. Bureau can declare, quoting Bossuet, that in secular systems of morality ‘*Tout est Dieu excepté Dieu lui-même.*’

We may profitably glance at these systems in the order in which they have achieved ascendancy over the French mind. Evolutionary Ethics, pure and simple, were the first love of the iconoclasts. They captured the schools, drove the priest from his accustomed place in the communal life even in remote villages, and ‘laicized’ the policy of the country. Their teachers took them wholly from Herbert Spencer, without adding anything appreciable of their own. Happiness is the end of action, but the happiness to be achieved is not that of the individual but of the society of which he is a member, and ultimately of the race. Moral precepts are the dictates of a calculus of pleasures which is prescribed and guided by the evolutionary process. In the natural process of evolution the individual will come so to identify his private ends, his private interpretation of happiness, with the common end and interpretation that at last there will come to be what Professor William James calls ‘a tea-table Elysium,’ in which everyone shall be engaged in seeking everyone else’s good in preference to his own. Meanwhile, every act that accelerates the process by which this identification will finally be accomplished is good, and every act that retards it is evil. ‘Good’ and ‘evil’ are relative to this final consummation, and if they seem to have an absolute character of their own, this absoluteness is itself a product of the evolutionary process and is of entirely ‘natural’ origin. The altruistic instinct and the ‘ought’ of morality are the slow and painful acquisitions which the process has bestowed upon mankind.

This is, in outline, the form in which the evolutionary account of the basis of morals has been most persuasively presented to the French people and, despite the fact that the Kantian theory of ethics still in the main governs the moral instruction given in the State secondary schools, this is the doctrine of morals which is most commonly

accepted by the reading public. But the French mind is always clear-sighted if it is not always profound. Questions could not tarry and they are being asked with growing insistence. Is Conscience wholly the product of the action of society upon the individual, without any contribution by the individual himself? Is morality nothing more than the expression of the relation of the individual to his society? Has he no value which must be estimated independently of society? If morality is an aspect of Nature's operations, why should we feel constrained to contribute to it? Why should we add our grain of sand to the edifice which Nature will assuredly build without our aid? How do we know that at any given time in any given circumstances our self-abnegation will serve the end of the evolutionary process better than our self-seeking? How can I regard as truly moral a system of ethics which prescribes as a function of the inevitable end the superannuation and extinction of Conscience? Rapine and mutual slaughter, and brutal selfishness equally with heroism, have entered into the evolutionary process and contributed to its end. Do they all alike possess moral worth?

It is not too much to say that satisfying answers to these questions are still to seek. It is true, at least, that after the first fine rapture with which the evolutionary theory of ethics was acclaimed had passed—and it is astonishing how quickly it did pass—responsible French critics began casting about for a *succedaneum* to the theory. The sanctions of conduct, it was felt, must be adequate to satisfy the test applied by the moral consciousness, and it did not appear to the critics that the biological sanctions offered by the theory fulfilled this condition. Where shall such adequate sanctions be found? Where to discover an incontrovertible truth which will confer its own dignity and worth upon the partial and essentially non-moral explanations of Evolutionary Ethics? The abrogation of the sanctions which, in France as elsewhere, Morality has hitherto derived from Religion does not enable Morality to dispense with sanctions. Brilliant attempts to sketch a system of morals which should be unencumbered with sanc-

tions had been made, but they had convinced only a few.<sup>1</sup> If there is to be morality there must be belief, and the belief must be in something more inspiring than soft touches and warm touches. So much the discussion has made clear, and M. Brunetière, whose death has awakened feelings of sincere regret in many English as well as many French readers, gives true witness when he declares<sup>2</sup> that 'the most antagonistic minds among us meet in a common anxiety about the "bases of belief" and the "crisis of faith."' Where shall the basis be found, if Evolutionary Ethics cannot furnish it?

Where the moralists have failed the politicians shall try. They have their solution of the problem and it is expressible in a word, a word which to French publicists has become a truly blessed one—Solidarity. Solidarity will safeguard character and conduct. Solidarity will make moral reconstruction and moral progress possible; and in making moral progress possible it will serve to realize all progress, for without the one there is no hope of the other. Men are bound together by innumerable bonds, visible and invisible. They are born and they live in intimate dependence upon their fellows. Life, from the cradle to the grave, is an accumulation of debts, 'debts at each step of the road, debts with each turn of the carriage-wheel, with each throb of the steamboat's screw; debts at every meal eaten, with every garment worn; debts to the dead who have bequeathed the heritage which has permitted us to live.' To whom, if not to those who come after us, shall this mountain of debt be paid? How can it be paid except by so ordering our life as to increase the value of the patrimony which we have received from our ancestors and transmitting it enhanced to our descendants? Every man contracts at birth the obligation to contribute to the development of the civilization into which he has come. So much is due to the law of evolution, which is the law of his personal life and of the life of the race.

Thus, by a rather *maladroit* use of the old idea of a

<sup>1</sup> M. Maurice Guyau, *Esquisse d'une Morale sans sanctions*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Brunetière, *Discours de Combat*, Nouvelle série, p. 170.



social contract, we have morality established in independence of both metaphysics and religion. 'The bed-rock foundation upon which it is built is a simple fact upon which no one can presume to cast any doubt.' The reader will at once see that this newer solution of the problem of morality is only the older solution proposed by the Spencerian ethics, with the addition of a word. All naturalistic solutions of the fundamental ethical problem, all moralities without God, are essentially the same. The differences are only of added words. The strange thing is that this newer solution should for a dozen years have imposed itself upon French minds to which the pure milk of the Spencerian word had become suspect. Strange that it should not only have shaped public policy in regard to the moral training of elementary school children—with what practical effect we know—but that it should have retained the loyal enthusiasm of the bulk of one large and influential class—the *instituteurs*. Nevertheless it, too, in its turn, is coming to be recognized as a philosophic imposture.

The facts implied in Solidarity are beyond question. It is their interpretation that is at fault. Grant that we owe a debt to our predecessors upon this earth—and it is much to grant, if we are to speak dispassionately—to whom should we pay it? The fathers are not here to receive their due; and, as to our descendants, it would surely be better—more moral—not to saddle them with a debt, by accumulating additional obligations upon them, when we do not know whether they will be able to pay. To pay to C. a debt which we owe to A. may be a justifiable proceeding; but it is not justifiable to saddle C. with a debt which he may wish to repudiate, without first consulting him. And whence came the obligation to pay debts? Not surely from the mere transmission of utilities from one generation to another. From a fact you cannot extract a duty except on the condition that you first thrust into the fact an antecedent obligation and also a will able to discharge it. If Nature is a mechanism, the mere extension of the mechanism into infinite space and endless time will not confer upon it the right to command beings whose property it is to propose

ends to themselves. The Ethics of Solidarity can only be made animate by the preliminary and piecemeal theft of an 'ought' which is the breath of whatever life they have.

The debts to be paid are certain utilities of which the greatest is taken to be life. Here, again, the Ethics of Solidarity make an unwarrantable assumption. Apart from metaphysical and, finally, from religious considerations, is life a good? Are the subordinate utilities which are ancillary to it really such? These questions are not, as perhaps they may seem, idle, for they are being asked in France by thousands of people. Indeed, as history witnesses, they are always asked when the consolations of God are lost. If these utilities are not good, can it be a duty to transmit them? So far as the Ethics of Solidarity go the conception of duty apart from consequences is a fiction. If the matter upon which duty bears is also a fiction, what is the value of a system which would restore health to us by a process that illicitly assumes both as postulates? 'For hundreds of centuries all forms of suffering have been borne by myriads of human beings. What of that? It has been enough for them to know that their blood and their tears went to pave the road along which at last the magnificent *cortège* of humanity will pass in the full efflorescence of its energies and potentialities.' But if I am the final judge, as I am the product, of the process by which the triumph is to be accomplished, it is for me to decide whether *my* blood and *my* tears shall go to make ready the way. If I decide that they shall not, what have the Ethics of Solidarity to say to me? The truth is that, as M. Séailles puts it, 'Solidarist Ethics will just as readily inspire anti-social as socially beneficial conduct; it will justify poltroonery equally as well as heroism; wherever there is a crime or an act of impurity to be committed, a bad action to be encouraged, disloyalty to be absolved, a post of honour to be deserted, Solidarity is there, with its grimace, ready to whisper in the ear "Do as others do. They seek their pleasure and profit. You stand alone, an ineffectual martyr to an idea."'

The error of those who have seen in the conception of Solidarity the saviour of French character and conduct is

apparent. It consists in making what is a serviceable instrument of morality into the life and substance of it. The new discovery was acclaimed with exultation by minds profoundly concerned to discover a working substitute for the religion they had discarded ; it was welcomed by men who saw that France is fast realizing Proudhon's sixty-year-old pronouncement that she is a country without morals. If the welcome was an enthusiastic one, disillusionment has not tarried. Critics of all schools are now falling upon the great 'discovery.' Presently none will be found so poor to do it reverence. 'Without God,' writes M. Deherme, a rationalist, if there is one, 'without God we have not yet been able to put forth an efficacious morality. Our hearts have been emptied by criticism. . . . All that has been presented to us as independent, scientific, rationalistic, or positive morals is no more than a parody of religious morality.' 'They have abandoned Catholicism,' writes another critic of a liberal school, 'but it needs only an hour by the clock to demonstrate that they have not provided a substitute for it, and that life is lived under the guidance of habits of thought and sentiment which have come from the past. In the absence of a coachman the horses take the carriage where they will. No ethical book published within the last quarter of a century is even tolerable.' 'In the presence,' writes another responsible critic, 'of the bankruptcy of moral systems the Conscience is troubled to find itself derelict and rudderless, the citizen is terrified when he sees the political machine, which is the Fatherland, working upon itself and producing nothing because it is fed upon nothing.' 'The uneasiness,' writes M. Bureau, 'grows apace and, apart from a few half-instructed folk who keep a gentle confidence in their stereotyped formulas, no one pretends to disguise his anxiety. Speeches delivered to the uninstructed public retain an accent of triumph. In private conversations this official imperturbability is derided.' The melancholy confession of M. Séailles is that 'Minds have been darkened ; generous feelings that uplift the heart are rare ; and while materialistic atheism



withers the souls of our young men, social life is being dissolved and disintegrated and becoming exhausted.'

Few who have real knowledge of France and the French will be disposed to think that the picture is overdrawn; nor will many be found to deny that pessimism, the secular fruitage of scepticism, is spreading its canker in the homeland of the *esprit gaulois*. 'Metaphysics,' we read, 'believe themselves. Stoicism is a mere pose. The religions are absurd. The hunt for pleasures is the veriest fraud. Best perhaps would be temperance in everything and an organized and regulated selfishness. How long will the world live on such a compromise?'

But pessimism shall not win without a struggle. Here is M. Lévy-Brühl, professor at the Sorbonne, who thinks he can shew his countrymen a better way. His way is not to dispense with moral sanctions but to dispense with moral theory. Systems of morals, he tells us, are of no practical value in any case. They supply neither the motives nor the justification nor yet the condemnation of conduct. They are intellectual constructions which, so far as conduct is concerned, are superfluous and otiose. The true and only arbiter and ruler of conduct is the moral consciousness, and the efficiency and force, the content and the illumination of this varies from people to people and generation to generation. The moral consciousness needs light and guidance, but these it must get from the only source whence they are really obtainable—Science. What the world needs is not another system of ethics, abstruse, empty, and impracticable, nor the restatement and reinforcement of any extant system, but a Science of Morals and a Moral Art founded upon it. The tribe of moralists have been on a false quest from the time of Plato and even before. They have conceived of an ethic which shall be legislative *in abstracto*. The true ethic, which the world has not yet seen, will be a natural science like any other in the hierarchy of sciences. It will collect facts patiently. For a long period, for three centuries perhaps, it will be content to do little else. Inductions will follow only when the accumulation of facts is sufficient. And finally the Rational Art of Morals

will crown the structure. Not until the Moral Art is at its work of furnishing precepts adequately secured upon facts will morality make real progress. Not until the same patient process of accumulation had rescued the physical sciences from the abstract theorizing of the Greeks and the Schoolmen did man assert a real mastery over Nature. He will not master the forces of his own soul until he has compared and classified and generalized their manifestations. Even as the art of medicine floundered among quackeries until it took the way of patient accumulation of biological data, so is the art of conduct victimized by ignorance and charlatanry now. The Moral Art is what alone can equip the moral consciousness for its work. Neither Religion nor Intuitional Ethics nor Metempirical Ethics nor the philosophy of History can supply the guidance that conscience needs. Nor can Utilitarian or Evolutionary Ethics supply the need, seeing that they, like the others, are not anchored in the facts of life—'the moral reality.'

Professor Lévy-Brühl is not the first to attempt the task of reducing Ethics to the status of a department of Nature-study; but his attempt is more thoroughgoing than any that has preceded it. What it concerns us to know is not the validity of the conception of Ethical Science and Moral Art to which he reintroduces us. That may be safely left to the handling of the critics. What we must see is the attitude of these extensions of Sociology to 'the moral reality,' the conduct which is three parts of life. Moral imperatives M. Brühl's Science would repudiate as unnecessary. They are disappearing in any case. The new Science, when it approaches completeness, '*permettra d'agir*.' It will not prescribe with anything like absolute authority. The Moral Law is a bastard and ambiguous product the deliverances of which assume an independence and universality to which they have no sort of title. It is the voice of Conscience, which is a conglomerate of survivals from the long history of our race. The Law will vanish, but it does not appear precisely what fate awaits the conglomerate. Apparently, it is to play a useful but diminishing rôle until the Moral Art is full fledged and ready to displace it. The

Moral Ideal is evanescent and we ought to rejoice at its evanescence, because its absolute and mystical character is a hindrance to progress. In reality it is a figment, like the Golden Age. Heroism and Saintliness will take themselves off from the widespread earth. Scientific ardour will remain as a more than sufficient equivalent. When men in general come to see themselves as they are—dupes of a Moral Law which has no claim to exist and of a Conscience which is wholly unscientific—they will not at once cease to be moral in the sense now attached to the word. They will not forthwith shake themselves free from the restraints and obligations which they have inherited. The institution of the Science of Comparative Religion did not at once make men irreligious. Present-day morals which, like pre-scientific medicine, are better than their absence, will remain with us until they are no longer needed. We cannot indeed tell what exactly the Moral Art which is to regenerate and reconstitute human nature will be,<sup>1</sup> but we know that it will superannuate both Ethics and Religion and we may go forward with confidence.

Detailed criticism of such speculations as these can scarcely be necessary. The tremendous postulate from which they take their departure is that moral force is one among many co-ordinate forces—physical, biological, economic—which control and are in turn controlled by the human personality, and that these forces are capable of mechanically conducting the activities of mankind towards the socially best. The truth, of course, is that these forces are not co-ordinates working in the same plane. Physical and biological forces are in themselves non-moral; they presuppose an aptitude to direct them to the accomplishment of the common good and the progress of the race, before they acquire a moral significance.

M. Lévy-Brühl's book would not have deserved notice in such a study as this if it had not been acclaimed as epoch-making by French critics. Even M. Bureau describes it as a book that must be read and as one the method of which can be unreservedly praised. In the light of the success

<sup>1</sup> Lévy-Brühl, *La Morale*, p. 277.



that it is achieving may be seen the shifts to which French ethical speculation has been put by the rejection of religious postulates, the anguish of heart which follows upon the withdrawal of the master light of all our seeing, the social decrepitude which menaces a society that has determined to live without God. 'I will confess to you,' writes an eminent French materialist to M. Bureau, 'that I am not at all disposed to concern myself with the horrors of our time. . . . I am persuaded that modern societies, and all of them without exception, are on the high road to disorganization and ruin. The worst of it is that our hypocrisy makes all reform impossible. Pharisaism has become the order of the day.'

Let it then be admitted that morals are in a parlous state in France. Conduct has visibly deteriorated at a rate which is alarming all seriously minded Frenchmen. The theories upon which morals have been based are discredited. Scepticism repudiates them one by one, not without scoffing. The preaching of righteousness has fallen on evil days. Even babes and sucklings stand superior to it, as if to shew the falsehood of such a dictum as Schopenhauer's that it is as easy to preach morals as it is difficult to 'base' them.

From whence then, cometh moral salvation? Not apparently from French Protestantism, which, though it is eloquently and persuasively commended to the people, shews little power to win upon them. The thought of Gallicanism appeals to English minds, but only a few members of the French Church seem to desire it with any ardour. The majority either discountenance it energetically, as M. Brunetière does ('Si vous voulez savoir ce que je crois, allez le demander à Rome'), or they fear to affront the force of Ultramontane sentiment and the lash of Papal censure, and so remain silent.

Modernism, again, has been conceived—perhaps owing to the too rigorous logic of its leaders—too much as a destructive rather than as a constructive force. Whence then cometh the salvation which shall restore health to French character and the urbanity and clarity that used to belong to it to the French mind? The secret is for

the present locked up in the counsels of God. One thing alone is incontrovertibly hopeful, and that is that an ever-increasing number of responsible leaders of French thought are coming to see that God is indispensable. Further than this the majority of the liberals are not at present prepared to go. Ardent Catholics, like M. Brunetière and M. Bazin, discern many comforting signs of religious revival and reasons for hope (*motifs d'espérer*) which, when dispassionately examined, do not seem to us to be quite so substantial as they appear to them to be. Too great a number even of those who are seriously disquieted stand at present very much where M. Edmond Schérer stood when he wrote: 'Morality is nothing if not religious. . . . Morality needs the absolute. But the absolute may be demanded and yet not secured. The child clamours for the moon of which he has seen the reflexion in a well.'

The problem presented by the situation in France is one of absorbing intellectual interest for us. But it ought to have much more than an intellectual interest. 'France,' says M. Bureau, 'seems more than any other nation to participate in the difficulties, the crises, and the tumults that are engendered by the insertion into social life of new elements which transform the minds of men and their institutions.' M. Bureau is right. The new elements have come, and the tumults and the crises. And the other French moralists are right when they insist that the presence of the new elements calls for a new adjustment of belief, a new orientation of the mind. They are wrong when they go on to assume that this new adjustment and orientation demands a shifting of the whole basis of belief or even the repudiation of belief and its basis alike. What is demanded is a presentation of Christianity in harmony with the traditions of the past, but in harmony also with modern thought and modern political conceptions. That is what Modernism would create if religious thought in the French church were free.

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ART. III.—THE HISTORY AND PSYCHOLOGY  
OF RELIGION

1. *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions.* Two volumes. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1908.)
  2. *Comparative Religion: its Genesis and Growth.* By L. H. JORDAN. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1905.)
  3. *Psyche's Task.* By J. G. FRAZER. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1909.)
  4. *Semitic Magic.* By R. C. THOMPSON. (London: Luzac and Co. 1908.)
  5. *Census of India.* Vol. I., Part I. By H. H. RISLEY and E. A. GAIT. (Calcutta. 1903.)
  6. *The Threshold of Religion.* By R. R. MARETT. (London: Methuen and Co. 1909.)
  7. *Anthropology and the Classics.* By A. J. EVANS, A. LANG GILBERT MURRAY, F. B. JEVONS, J. L. MYRES, and W. WARDE FOWLER. Edited by R. R. MARETT (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1908.)
  8. *Völkerpsychologie.* Von WILHELM WUNDT. Two volumes (Leipzig: W. Engelmann. 1904-1906.)
  9. *Comparative Religion.* By W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909.)
- And other Works.

THE science of comparative religion, or the comparative science of religion, is now about half a century old. In England that branch of it which first attracted popular attention was, owing to the work of Max Müller and Sir G. W. Cox, comparative mythology. But religious institutions, especially the institutions of the religions of the lower culture, were to prove of still greater interest when they were handled by such men as Professor Tylor and Dr. Frazer. It is significant, therefore, that when we turn to the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* we find scarcely a paper which dealt either with mythology or with such institutions as totemism and taboo. What seems now to occupy the place which



they filled is the psychology of religion. It is not merely that there are papers formally dealing with the subject, such as 'The Psychological Origin of Religion' by Professor Leuba, or 'Das Verhältniß von Religionsgeschichte und Religionspsychologie,' by Professor A. Titius, but so many writers treat the subjects on which they write from the psychological point of view, that it seems probable that the psychological treatment of the history of religion is the direction in which the science of religion is moving and will continue to move in the immediate future.

If, however, the psychological treatment of the history of religion is to be fruitful—if, even, it is not to be misleading—the psychology employed must not be the old individual psychology. That fact is little likely to be forgotten by the countrymen of Wilhelm Wundt, though his *Völkerpsychologie* is not yet complete, consisting at present of only some two thousand five hundred pages. Dr. Titius is accordingly quite definite in stating that religion is always the affair of some community and consequently has always its sociological side; and that psychology of religion has to do not merely with the psychology of early man, but with the continuity of religion—a continuity which is due to the fact that religion occurs in society and is transmitted through the ages by society. In England, however, it is much less generally accepted that there is a psychology of the common consciousness, as well as a psychology of the individual; and consequently there is a greater danger of failing to recognize that the psychology of religion, when religion is treated from the point of view of its growth and its history, must be a department, or an application, of the psychology of the common consciousness. It is, however, fairly obvious that a society which attains to civilization must, in the very process of reaching it, realize a richer and fuller psychological development than one which does not develop at all, but remains still carrying on a precarious struggle for mere existence, still subject to the same conditions now as at the beginning of the struggle. This means that the individual member of the highly civilized community has, or may have, attained

a much richer and fuller psychological development than any member of a society which has never succeeded in rising above the struggle for bare existence. From this it follows that there are two things which we have no right to say. First, we must not say, or assume, that what has come to be developed in the member of the more highly evolved community was already developed in the members of the primitive community. Next, we must not assume that what has come to be developed in the later stages was entirely absent from the earlier. The truth rather is that everywhere, in all communities, there is that which may develop, if it meets with favouring conditions, or, if it does not, must remain rudimentary or potential. This is true of all three departments of the psychology of religion—of thought, will, and emotion—but as the tendency displayed at the Congress for the History of Religions was to dwell almost exclusively on emotion, and to treat it as the one psychological factor in religion, we will be content to confine our attention to the emotional factor, being satisfied that the two other psychological factors cannot long be left in the background.

An assumption made by many contributors to the *Transactions* of the Congress was that the one emotional factor with which the psychology and the history of religion have to do is fear or awe. Professor Leuba, in his paper on 'The Psychological Origin of Religion,' is much too wise to make any such unqualified assumption as to the original emotional form of religion. That fear played its part, and did so from the beginning, seems clear to him, on the ground that 'fear was the first of the well-organized emotional reactions. It antedated the human species, and appeared to this day first in the young animal, as well as in the infant. But he thinks it 'not a preposterous supposition' to suppose that some groups of primitive men may have been fortunate enough to live in circumstances such that fear was an emotion not often felt; and in that case, in place of the unmixed fear-type of religion, some nobler form of religion would or might have been the first to appear. This view, however, seems to us to be dangerously near the fallacy

f supposing that the nobler form, which in some—by no means all—cases came to be evolved ultimately, was in primitive times already developed in some groups of men. It is at any rate inconsistent with the well-established psychological fact that fear was the first of the well-organized emotional relations. We need not, however, for this reason fall into the opposite error and assume that, because fear was early a well-organized emotion, it was the only emotion of which early man was capable. If, in some cases, other emotions have come forward and to a large extent have thrust fear into the background, we must recognize that those emotions were not entirely absent from the original psychological outfit of early man, though they may have been but rudimentary.

But inasmuch as fear is the first well-established emotional reaction, the psychology of religion must start from it, though it need not end with it. The fear felt by a group of undeveloped, uncivilized men will be provoked by misfortunes that befall them, and it will make them try to avoid a recurrence of the disaster. They will form some opinion as to the cause and reason of the calamity. Now, one way in which we may discover what, in the opinion of any tribe or community, is the cause of the misfortunes by which they are attacked or threatened is to observe the steps they take in order to remedy or avert it. This is the method of observation; it has the recommendation of starting from observed facts; and its conclusions, to be accepted, must accord with the facts and be subject to their control. Another and totally different way is to pay no attention to the remedial or preventive steps taken, but to start with a provisional hypothesis that the only cause which could present itself to the mind of early man was an impersonal cause. As against this, it is equally admissible to set up a counter-hypothesis, *e.g.* that personal causes were the only causes which early man could conceive to account for things, or that early man had not yet learnt to distinguish between personal and impersonal causes.

Whatever the hypothesis which we thus make *a priori* and adopt provisionally, if it is not to be shattered by the



facts of observation, it must account for them all. Seeing, then, that whatever hypothesis we start from we must eventually face the facts, we had better start from the facts and see in what direction they point, whether, that is, they will give us a line. No one point—no single set of facts—will do this : to get a straight line we must have two points, and, if the line is a curve, more than two points. Now the plotting out of the points has been already done in a way which all students of early religion agree to be satisfactory, so far as it has been done : all agree that, so far as already plotted out, they point to Animism. Hitherto it has been believed by all that the line plotted out points, no matter how far it is continued, straight to Animism and in no other direction. Now, however, it is contended that the line, when further continued, curves off from Animism to something other than Animism and prior to Animism—to Pre-Animism. The question is whether the points indicating this supposed curve have been accurately plotted out, and whether the line which, by universal consent, hitherto has pointed to Animism, at a certain point turns in another direction. The contention is that it does take another direction, that it makes off in the direction of impersonal power. Thus Mr. T. C. Hodson, in his 'Funerary Customs and Eschatological Beliefs of the Assam Hill Tribes,'<sup>1</sup> sees an essential connexion between breaches of custom and sickness or death : violation of the custom, which has come to be formulated in the unwritten *genna* ordinances, is believed to be followed 'automatically, without animistic intermediaries,' by misfortune ; and this is 'characteristic and symptomatic of a stage of religious thought prior to that of animism as defined by Dr. Tylor' ; in the beliefs of these tribes 'pre-animistic elements are conspicuous.' If then we assume, to begin with, the hypothesis that there was a stage of religious thought prior to that of animism, we shall be favourably inclined to accept the statement that violations of the *genna* are, in the opinion of the Nagas, Kukis, and Khasis, followed by sickness or death, 'automatically, without animistic intermediaries.' But, if we

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, i. p. 58.

prefer, instead of starting from hypothetical premisses, and instead of illustrating hypotheses, to begin with facts, we shall naturally scrutinize the statement that the Assam Hill tribes believe violation of the *genna* to be followed by misfortune, automatically and without animistic intermediaries. If we wish to discover what the tribesmen believe to be the cause of misfortune when it befalls them, we shall endeavour to discover what steps they take in order to remedy it. According to Major Gurdon,<sup>1</sup> the persons who have committed an offence which might bring sickness or death on the community, are taken by their clansmen to a priest and obliged to sacrifice a pig and a goat—not that this benefits the offenders, for they become outcasts, their offence being inexpiable. It will scarcely be disputed that, on the evidence supplied by Major Gurdon, the steps taken consist in a sacrifice to a god, or that the sacrifice conducted by the priest is offered, in the interests of the community, to avert the consequences which, in the absence of a sacrifice to the god, would befall the clan. The inference suggested by the facts is that the misfortune anticipated is regarded as one which the god will send on the community, and not as one which follows automatically on the offence and without animistic intermediaries. In fine, when we come to plot out the points afforded by a consideration of the Khasis, we find that they continue in the line of animism and indicate no trend in any other direction. It is, however, proper to note that Mr. Hodson's paper, as distinguished from the abstract which appears in the *Transactions*, may have contained instances in which offenders are not taken by their clansmen to a priest and made to offer sacrifice. But it would be premature to try to explain instances as yet not produced.

That the Hill Tribes of Assam have reached the animistic stage is not disputed by Mr. Hodson: he only claims that they are in possession of pre-animistic as well as of animistic concepts, and that the pre-animistic concepts survive in the animistic surroundings which have grown up around

<sup>1</sup> *The Khasis* (London, 1907), pp. 94, 123, quoted by Dr. Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, p. 33, n. 1.

them. Sir Herbert Risley<sup>1</sup> also believes that in Chota Nagpur he has come across instances which 'linger on as survivals of the impersonal stages of early religion.' Sir Herbert has had the good fortune, he tells us, to be brought into very intimate relations with the jungle dwellers in Chota Nagpur, and he has come to the negative conclusion that what the jungle people really do believe in is 'not a person at all in any sense of the word' but 'some sort of power.' And Sir Herbert gives us not only his conclusion but some of the facts. These jungle people have objects of 'worship,' to which the worshipper 'offers his victim, or whose symbol he daubs with vermilion at the appointed season.' Vermilion, we may remark, is a well-known surrogate of blood; and appointed seasons for sacrifice indicate that the offering of victims must be a practice of some standing. Sacrifice is offered in Chota Nagpur for the purpose of 'influencing and conciliating' these powers when they send jungle fever, cholera, smallpox, murrain, &c. It is clear, then, that in every single respect these jungle people approach the powers which they worship, and to which they 'sacrifice fowls' and offer victims at appointed seasons, in exactly the same way as other primitive communities approach gods; and that they observe identically the same ritual for identically the same reason, viz. to conciliate these powers, when they send, or are likely to send, misfortunes upon the community. Once more, when we plot out the points afforded by the worship and the sacrifices in Chota Nagpur, we find that they continue the line which points in the direction of animism. Sir Herbert Risley was unable to obtain from the jungle dwellers any definite description of the powers they worshipped. He conjectures, therefore, that the powers were impersonal. But one conjecture, as a mere conjecture, is as good as another; and the conjecture that the powers were personal has in its favour all the observed facts, not one of which lends the least support to the opposite conjecture. A being who is capable of wrath, and who will, if not appeased, inflict punishment on those who have provoked his anger, is a

<sup>1</sup> *Census of India*, 1901, i. part 1, pp. 351-355.



power possessing personal attributes ; if he manifests his power by sending fever and cholera, he possesses supernatural attributes ; and if—as Sir Herbert Risley says is the case with the beings worshipped in Chota Nagpur—he is invested by his worshippers with no form, he is not therefore the less a spirit or a god.

In Assam and Chota Nagpur the power of sending death and disease is a supernatural power exercised by beings who possess personal attributes. But this fact of observation avails nothing against the assumption, or possibility, that elsewhere there may exist, or have existed, the belief in similar power not exercised by beings possessing personal attributes. This assumption is made by Mr. E. Clodd,<sup>1</sup> and the simple question is : what, if any, facts there are to support it. Mr. Clodd adduces the instance of Chota Nagpur, already discussed, and adds ‘ the Melanesian and Maori belief in a power or influence called *mana*, to which no personal qualities are attributed, and which can be conveyed in almost everything,’ together with the *manitou* of the Algonkins, the *wakonda* of the Dakotans, the *orenda* of the Iroquois, etc. The root-idea in Pre-Animism is, in Mr. Clodd’s view, that of power ‘ as yet unclothed with personal or supernatural attributes.’ We may remark, in passing, that, whether *mana* be a personal quality or not, it is, and would we presume be admitted by Mr. Clodd to be, a supernatural power. If it were merely the power natural to ordinary men, every man would have it in the ordinary way and no man would need to have it conveyed to him. But it is supernatural : it is ‘ what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature,’ and if a man displays power of this kind it is because *mana* has been conveyed to him.<sup>2</sup> The sole question, then, with which we have to do, is what the Melanesians, as a matter of observed fact, conceive to be the source of this power—is the source personal, or impersonal ? On this point there is no doubt. Mr. Marett, who was the first

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, i. pp. 33–35 : ‘ Pre-Animistic Stages in Religion.’

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Codrington, D.D., *The Melanesians*, pp. 118–120.

person to suggest the possibility of pre-animistic religion,<sup>1</sup> says, in a paper on the 'Conception of Mana,'<sup>2</sup> 'the Melanesian evidence collected by Codrington is decisive. Wherever *mana* is found—and that is to say, wherever the supernatural reveals itself—this *mana* is referred to one of three originating sources, namely, a living man, a dead man's ghost, or a "spirit." . . . A sacred animal, or again, a sacred stone, is one which belongs to a ghost or spirit, or in which a ghost or spirit resides.'

The observed facts, then, so far from confirming, contradict the assumption that the Melanesians believe in a (supernatural) power not exercised by personal beings; and so the idea of pre-animistic stages in religion remains, as yet, unsupported by any facts whatever. The assumption itself, however, is one which it is interesting to examine rather more closely: it is that the Melanesians and others believe in, and therefore that they have the concept of, power quite apart from the being or thing that displays it—'power everywhere, power vaguely apprehended,' as Mr. Clodd puts it. But, even allowing that the Melanesians have the concept of power, and have evolved the term *mana* to express it, the term, on the analogy of all abstract terms in all languages, must have taken a long time to grow up; and that means that the concept itself must have been a long time in disengaging itself in the minds of the Melanesians or their remote ancestors. Doubtless the idea was there, implicit and confused; or, perhaps we should rather say, there was that from which the idea was thereafter to be evolved by differentiation. The child does things some time before he is conscious that he does them; and he is aware of that some time before he consciously attributes either to himself or to others a power of doing things. What is true of the child is probably true of early man. If so, then the belief that persons could do things existed before the power of the person was distinguished

<sup>1</sup> In a paper, bearing that title, published in the *Folk-Lore Journal*, in June 1900, and republished in *The Threshold of Religion* (Methuen and Co.), 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions*, i. p. 54.

from the agent and the act. And when it was distinguished by a special term, the power in question, because it had a separate name—*mana*, *orenda*, *wakonda*—was believed to be a separate thing, which could exist apart from both agent and act, and could be transferred from one agent to another, and could be lost by one person or acquired by another.

The feeling roused by the belief that a being could do extraordinary things was at least fear, and might be something more, viz. awe, respect, veneration. Fear of itself does not prevent a man from plotting retaliation or proceeding to murder: witches are feared yet killed. But in addition to fear there may be the feeling that resistance is hopeless and useless. The result of this may be, and in certain cases is, despair. But that is not the invariable or necessary result. If resistance will not avail, submission may. If opposition is vain, conciliation may be possible. And if conciliation succeeds, respect and veneration for the now friendly power may be the outcome.

If it is a man who is believed to have brought about, and therefore to be able to bring about, sickness and death, fear—but not respect or veneration—is felt; and he may be killed—secretly assassinated or openly executed. But when it is some non-human personality who brings about, and therefore is able to bring about, sickness or death, assassination or execution is impossible: resistance is vain, and the alternatives that remain are to keep out of the way, or to conciliate the power and establish, if possible, friendly relations with him. Such awful but friendly powers, terrible yet dear, are, or may become, deities.

Students of early religion believe, and probably believe rightly, that it is sickness and misfortune which first set man on to seek out the authors of the disaster. If that is so, then the attribution of success and prosperity to some power, human or non-human, is probably a later stage in the evolution of belief. When that stage was reached, resort might be had either to the non-human powers who had been conciliated and were venerated, or to the human beings who had hitherto been regarded with fear alone. If it is



to human beings, having power, that recourse is had, the feeling with which they are approached by the community may develop into the awe with which non-human powers are regarded; or, on the other hand, it may not develop so far, and the supposed possessor of power may be punished, deposed, or put to death. The same oscillation of feeling may probably be regarded as taking place with regard to 'fetishes.'

It is no doubt natural, and perhaps inevitable, to speak of the human beings who possess power of this kind as 'magicians,' and of the non-human beings who possess it as gods, or at least as *numina*. To some extent, indeed, it is even justifiable to speak thus; for, where the process of evolution is carried far enough, it is the case that the non-human powers or *numina* do come to be undeniable gods; and the human beings become warlocks and witches, and eventually are generally regarded as but fraudulent claimants to any superhuman power. But though this is the tendency, and the tendency is realized eventually in many cases, it is beyond dispute that in some cases the human possessors of the supposed power are regarded by one community with the same awe, and with the same confidence that they can and will exercise their power for the general good, as the undoubtedly non-human *numina* of another community are respected and trusted. Fully recognizing, then, the existence of these cases, we must yet regard them as exceptional and consider that in the general course of religious evolution the normal tendency is to differentiate the human from the non-human possessors of extraordinary power. When and where this differentiation has been established, everyone will admit that nothing but confusion can be the consequence of ignoring it and of talking as though the worshippers of gods did not and could not discriminate between the gods whom they venerated and worshipped and the magicians whom they feared yet put to death. In fine, when and where the differentiation has established itself in the common consciousness or the consciousness of the community, there are both gods and magicians; but, until the difference is recognized, there are neither. But

to recognize that there are neither is not to say that there was nothing ; on the contrary, it is to say that everywhere there was the possibility not of one alone, or of the other alone, but of both. At that period in the evolution of man, extraordinary things, *i.e.* things then regarded as extraordinary, occurred and were regarded as the doing of some being or other of extraordinary power. Such being, even if non-human, was not a god, though he might become so if permanent friendly relations were established between him and the community. Such being, even if human, was not a magician, for the power he displayed, *e.g.* in causing death, was not felt to be different from that exercised, with the same result, by non-human possessors of power : indeed, in exceptional cases he, as well as they, might attain the rank of god. But the non-human possessors of power had not to be magicians before they could become gods ; and neither had the human.

It is, however, to be noted that, though we may postulate in the evolution of man a stage in which the beings, human and non-human, who possessed extraordinary power, had not yet been differentiated into magicians and gods, it is, as yet, matter of doubt whether there are at the present day any members of the human race who have never risen above that stage. Borrowing a simile from M. Bergson's *L'Évolution créatrice*, we may say that, though the fragments of a bursting shell travel different distances and describe different curves, still there is no fragment which does not travel some distance and describe some curve. The fact that a fragment when found is on the ground, or that the belief in gods has dwindled to a mere memory, or even disappeared from the tribal consciousness, does not prove that in the long past, through which the tribe has travelled, the tribe has never risen above the level from which we suppose it to have started ; though it may create a presumption that it never rose to any great height. We may even doubt whether any tribe falls quite so low as the level from which it started : to some extent it carries its past on its back, to some extent the past is operative in the present, and consequently the present of one generation must be slightly, and may be

greatly, different from the present of any preceding generation. Until the shell bursts there are no fragments; and to argue that magicians existed before gods is as though we were to say that one fragment of the shell—and that the fragment which falls to the ground first—came into existence before the rest. Or, if we choose to substitute for the metaphor of the shell that of a bud which bursts, though we may recognize that the flower was not in the bud, pre-formed, we shall also recognize that there was that in the bud which might become the flower: without the potentiality of religion, the actuality could not have been realized. Magic may, like the sheath of the bud, be that which is first visible to the human eye, but it is, like the sheath, that which is first to fall, and, though it be visible, being external, there is that within which is just as real and of higher import.

But to say that there is that within the common consciousness of every community which may develop is by no means to say that it will develop, still less that it must develop, perfectly: in China or Japan, for instance, its development has been but imperfect; in the Babylonian-Assyrian religion it was markedly less than amongst the Jews. And to say that it might have been, or may still be, developed is very different from saying that it exists, or has ever anywhere existed, pre-formed. It is an error of method to expect—and still more so to resolve—to find the higher stages in the lower. What we do find, for instance, among the jungle dwellers of Chota Nagpur, or among the Khasis, is the belief that tribal misfortunes are sent by the community's god as a punishment for infractions of the customs of the community. What we do not find is any efficacious belief that the community's god actively loves the community. But, if it is important to insist upon this difference, it is equally important not to misunderstand it. It is misunderstood, if we say that the first beings worshipped are evil beings and that the emotion with which their worshippers approach them is composed of fear and of the hostility which goes with fear, pure and simple. The desire even of such worshippers as the Khasis is to avert mis-



fortune; their belief is that their god may be supplicated and persuaded to abandon his wrath, for his wrath is not gratuitous, arbitrary, unreasonable, or malevolent, but is provoked by deeds which, in the opinion of the community itself, are deeds not to be done. A spirit or god whose function—whose sole function—is to punish the deeds which, in the opinion of the worshippers themselves, are deeds not to be done, is not an evil being or spirit, but a guardian of the tribal morality or of the custom of the community. Religion, even at its lowest level, is inseparable from morality, even at that early stage when morality is as yet nothing more than tribal custom. And the spirits who punish infractions of the custom of the community are not evil spirits. We must therefore dissent from one of the conclusions reached by Professor Leuba in his excellent paper on 'The Psychological Origin of Religion,'<sup>1</sup> viz. that in which he objects to 'completely dissociating the propitiation of evil spirits from the worship of kindly gods.' Another conclusion reached by Professor Leuba is that 'the more striking development of religious life is the gradual substitution of love for fear in worship.'<sup>2</sup> That there is little progress, we might almost say no progress, in the evolution of religion until love is substituted for fear in worship we shall not deny. But whether there is, in the evolution of religion, a gradual substitution of love for fear is a question which cannot be settled *a priori*: it is one the answer to which can only be supplied by observed facts; that is, by the history and psychology of religion. Let us, then, once more, as in the case of the theory of Pre-Animism, get to the facts.

The first section of the Congress for the History of Religions dealt with religions of the lower culture; the second with the religions of China and Japan, and its President, Professor Giles, supplies us with the facts by which alone it can be determined whether in these religions there is any gradual substitution of love for fear. In the very earliest records

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, ii. pp. 380-382.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Professor Leuba's article on 'Fear, Awe, and the Sublime' in the *American Journal of Religion, Psychology, and Education*, ii. p. 1.

of Chinese civilization, he tells us, it had been recognized 'that there was a Power, to whom evil of any kind was displeasing, and from whom punishment might be expected for any form of wrong-doing.' This belief, then, is exactly that which we have found amongst the jungle dwellers of Chota Nagpur and among the Khasis in the hills of Assam. How far, then, do we get, in China, any advance upon this, any substitution, gradual or otherwise, of love for fear? There is, Professor Giles says, no suggestion that the Power—*T'ien*—whose personality (here, as in Chota Nagpur) was extremely vague, 'claimed any love or gratitude, or even reverence, beyond the fear inspired by the swift and open punishment of evil-doers'; indeed, generally speaking, 'if a man led a moral life, he needed not to concern himself with this Power.' That is to say, no love came to be felt, gradually or otherwise, for this Power: his function was to punish evil-doers, who violated ancestral custom. Hence, and for the simple reason that no love was felt for *T'ien* or *Ti*, 'Confucius, though amply recognizing a Supreme Power of some kind, declared plainly that God merely required man to do his duty toward his neighbour.' That thou shalt love either thy neighbour or thy God was not in China an idea that gradually evolved or that developed at all; and because it did not evolve, religion relapsed. The educated classes of China hold with Chu Hsi that 'to declare, as people do, that the blue empyrean contains a Being, who awards punishments for crimes, is impossible: there is no evidence to that effect.' The uneducated classes relapsed into the worship of the sun, moon, stars, and of the deities of hill and stream. As Dr. Tisdall in his excellent little handbook, *Comparative Religion*, says, in terms of general application: 'left thus to itself by the more enlightened, the popular religion rapidly grows worse and worse.'<sup>1</sup>

In Japan, besides Confucianism and Buddhism, which have travelled thither from China, there is a native religion, Shinto, of which, until the appearance of recent works by Professor Revon and Dr. Aston, we had no scientific know-

<sup>1</sup> *Comparative Religion.* By W. St. C. Tisdall, D.D., p. 42. (Longmans, 1909.)

ledge. On Shinto, 'the Way of the Gods,' the Congress for the History of Religions had the good fortune to hear a paper, 'Les anciens rituels du Shinto considérés comme formules magiques,' by Professor Revon. These documents in their present form date back to A.D. 927; but even then they were so archaic as not to be wholly intelligible to the scholars of the tenth century who reduced them to writing. These rituals, twenty-seven in number, are styled *norito*, that is 'words uttered.' Professor Revon considers these 'words uttered' to be, as the title of his paper indicates, magical formulae, and not to be, as is the ordinarily accepted view, simple prayers. But as 'magic' is an ambiguous term, and as Professor Revon explains that by magical formulae he means 'formulae, the recitation of which produces a direct effect upon the will of the gods,' but does not state what is, in his opinion, the differentia between such 'words uttered' and simple prayer, the reader may do well to suspend his judgement, for the time, on the question whether the ordinarily accepted view or Professor Revon's view is the more correct, and may ask—once more and always—for the facts.

Take the very first Ritual, the words uttered every year at seed-time, with the view of obtaining a good harvest. The words are recited by the sacerdotal representative of the Emperor, they are addressed to the gods of the Harvest, and they are to the effect that, if the gods grant an abundant harvest, the Emperor will make them a thankoffering in the shape of the first-fruits. Thanksgiving and thankofferings are promised; and doubtless the promise is kept. M. Revon regards the promise as a piece of magic. He does not tell us how we are to construe the fulfilment of the promise as magical; nor is it at all easy to understand how the giving of thanks is to be brought under the head of magic,<sup>1</sup> however magic is defined. And if the giving of thanks and thankofferings is not magical, it is difficult to

<sup>1</sup> This argument is used, with regard to seed-time prayers and harvest thankofferings generally, in the writer's recent *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion*, pp. 175-210. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908.)



see how the promise to do something not magical is to be construed as a magical formula. At any rate, the facts—and it is facts we are in search of—are clear: thanks and thankofferings are promised and given to the gods of the Harvest.

Still more interesting is the Fourth Ritual. It is pronounced by M. Revon to be a very ancient document; and, if we take it to be more ancient than the First Ritual, we shall find that it constitutes a link between the thankofferings made by the ancient Japanese, among other peoples, and the offerings made by such peoples as the Hill Tribes of Assam or the jungle dwellers of Chota Nagpur, in order to avert the misfortunes which may descend on them from the Power they worshipped. In the Fourth Ritual thankofferings in the form of first-fruits are promised to the gods of the Winds, if they will bless and ripen the harvest and not send violent rain and destructive wind. From the point of view of a community engaged in agriculture the storms that destroy the harvest work evil, and the spirits of the storm are evil spirits. In the Fourth Ritual we have what might be quoted as an instance of evil spirits being worshipped; and of what might be used to shew that the first beings worshipped are evil beings. But when we come to examine this instance we find that the spirits of the storm are only worshipped on condition that they cease to be evil, and undertake to do good by blessing and ripening the harvest. This is therefore typical of the way in which, and of the terms on which, 'from the earliest times religion,' in the words of Robertson Smith, 'addresses itself to kindly and friendly beings': the wild and dangerous spirits of the storm are not kindly and friendly, at first; they only become so when man believes that he knows how to establish kindly and friendly relations with them. It is as powers capable of good, and not as evil beings, that they are worshipped. And that the spirits of the storm were not among the first beings worshipped by the Japanese is shewn by the account given in the Fourth Ritual of the way in which they came to be worshipped as gods of the Winds. According to that account, they were originally

not worshipped. It was only in consequence of the fact that for several years the harvests were destroyed by storms that the Emperor was led to believe that it was necessary to enter into permanent, friendly relations with the spirits of the storm ; and he established those relations by entering into a covenant with the spirits of the storm. The spirits of the storm were to ripen and bless the harvests of the community ; and the community was to found them a temple at Tatsuta and worship them as gods with offerings and liturgies. The essence of the covenant might be expressed, *mutatis mutandis*, in the words of Exodus vi. 7 : ' I will take you to me for people, and I will be to you God.' The gods of the Winds undertake that ' there shall be no more evil winds, nor violence of the waters '—that there shall no more be a flood to destroy the harvests—and the Emperor undertakes that his people shall worship them.

M. Revon apparently accepts as historical the account which the Fourth Ritual gives of the institution of the worship of the gods of the Winds. It is interesting, therefore, indeed it is important, to note that, in M. Revon's own words, ' here it is the gods themselves who dictate their own conditions.' It is important, not as shewing that the gods of the Winds did impose any conditions, but as shewing that in the belief of the community it was the gods themselves who imposed the terms of the covenant which they made with their people, just as in the Old Testament it is Jehovah Himself who dictates the covenants which He makes with His people. If, therefore, the community believed the gods themselves to have imposed the terms of the covenant, the community cannot have believed that the covenant was imposed by magical means on the gods. The belief, when and where it is found to exist, is essentially religious and leaves no room for magic. If it be said that, for instance, in the First Ritual, the covenant originates from the community and does not originate on the side of the gods (just as in 2 Samuel vii. David undertakes to build an house unto the Lord before he receives from Jehovah a promise to establish his dynasty), still this, as we have already seen, is no case of magical restraint exercised by

man over the gods, but a promise of praise and thank-offerings ; and thanksgiving and thankofferings for benefits already received are not magic.

Of the two forms of covenant, between the community and its gods, presented to us in these Japanese rituals, it can hardly be doubted that the earlier is that which is established by the community with its gods ; and that the later is that which, in the belief of the community, was imposed by it on the gods, though it is hardly necessary to remark that some instances of the earlier form may be of later date than some instances of the later form.

It is also clear that, whereas storm spirits' are evil spirits, until they are brought into friendly relations with the community by the establishment of a formal contract or covenant, the gods of the Harvest in their very nature and function are kindly spirits from the beginning. And, if they were the earliest gods worshipped by the Japanese, that would confirm Robertson Smith's statement that from the earliest times religion addresses itself to kindly and friendly beings. But no people is agricultural from the start ; and, before gods of the Harvest were, there must have been other gods. Between those other gods and gods of the Harvest there must have been resemblances, and there were probably points of difference. Of the other and earlier gods we may form some opinion from the worship offered to them by the Khasis and the jungle dwellers of Chota Nagpur. In their case, also, permanent relations have been established between the community and the powers it worships ; for, as Sir Herbert Risley informs us, the worship is offered ' at the appointed season.' But the friendliness of these powers is not believed by their worshippers to manifest itself in the shape of kindness ; they are interested in maintaining the morality or the custom of the community, but they are jealous gods, inasmuch as they are ever on the watch to punish transgressions by sending disease and death on the community when it offends them. Still, they are the gods of the community, and, as such, they are willing to give ear to the community's worship and to be reconciled with their worshippers. That is the belief



which we find implicit among peoples so undeveloped, or so retrograde, that they are quoted as instances of a pre-animistic stage of religion.

In China and Japan, stages of religion were reached plainly more evolved than anything we find in Assam or Chota Nagpur. But in the case of neither can we say that there was 'a gradual substitution of love for fear in worship.' In China, if a man avoided evil-doing, he need not concern himself with *T'ien*. In Japan, if the community observed its side of the covenant, the gods would observe theirs: love is not covenanted for, nor can it be. In China and Japan, and, we may add, in the Roman Empire, the relation between the community of worshippers and the power worshipped, though friendly, was not conceived to be one of love, on the part either of the worshippers or of the worshipped. If it had been so conceived, the relation would hardly have come to be regarded as of the nature of a covenant. Moreover, even in those tribes where the covenant idea does not grow up, the friendliness never ripens into the conception of love. That God is love is a Christian idea. The psychology of religion has therefore to recognize that not only fear, or rather awe, but love also is one of the emotional factors in religion. For the statement, however, that love gradually substituted itself for fear, we can find no support in the history of religion. Such substitution appears to have been a prerogative of Christianity. But we do not wish, in saying this, to assume that what came to be developed eventually in the religious consciousness was, or could have been, ever entirely absent from the earlier stages in its history. In the attitude of any community towards powers which it conceived as friendly there was from the first the possibility of the emotional reaction of love, given the conditions necessary to stimulate it. But it is Christianity alone which has supplied the necessary conditions; and it would be a mistake in the history of religion to overlook that fact, just as it is an error in the psychology of religion to suppose that the only emotional reaction, of which the religious consciousness was at the beginning capable, was fear.

F. B. JEVONS.

ART. IV.—GNOSTICISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY  
IN EGYPT.

1. *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften.* Von C. SCHMIDT. 'Die griechischen-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.' (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1905.)
2. *Pistis Sophia; ouvrage gnostique de Valentin.* Traduit du copte en français, avec une Introduction. Par É. AMÉLINEAU. (Paris: Chamuel. 1895.)
3. *Pistis Sophia.* For the first time Englished from Schwartz's Latin version of the only known Coptic MS., and checked by Amélineau's French Version, with an Introduction. By G. R. S. MEAD, B.A., M.R.A.S. (London: The Theosophical Publishing Society. 1896.)
4. *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten.* By the Same. (London: The Theosophical Publishing Society. 1900.)
5. *Die frühchristlichen Alterthümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis.* Von R. FORRER. (Strassburg. 1893.)
6. *L'Exploration des Nécropoles Gréco-Byzantines d'Antinoë.* Par AL. GAYET. 'Annales du Musée Guimet' XXX. 1902.
7. *Koptische Kunst.* Von J. STRZYGOWSKI. 'Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.' (Vienna: Published by the Egyptian Government. 1904.)

And other Works.

THE history of the infancy of Christianity in the various provinces of the Roman empire is everywhere obscure, but nowhere more so than in Egypt. Yet in Egypt the problems are of peculiar interest, for the soil whereon the seeds of the new faith were sown produced a goodly crop of tares, which were not finally rooted out until the creed of the Church was clearly defined by the Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. The philosophies of the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria and the deep-rooted belief in the old religion of Egypt everywhere else in the Nile Valley were the means

by which Gnosticism and semi-pagan practices were introduced among the early Christian communities. At present we still know little of this early faith, nor have the perplexing elements which go to make up our present knowledge of Gnosticism thrown much light on the question. Nevertheless the books selected to stand at the head of this article will shew how investigators from various points of view are compelling this elusive period in the history of Christianity to yield up its secrets. Egypt has always much to teach us of the past. The country which, on account of its dry climate and protecting desert sands, has preserved for us the monuments and remains of the oldest civilization in the world, has also been the source of discovery of some of the most important relics of early Christian literature and art. Oxyrhynchus has given us the famous *Logia Iesou*, and the Christian cemeteries of Akhmim and Antinoë have yielded a rich harvest of objects connected with early Christian burial customs; while in addition two Gnostic works of unique importance, *Pistis Sophia* and the *Books of Ieou*, came from the Thebaid. Hitherto we have derived nearly all our knowledge of this early period of Egyptian Christianity from the evidence of the Fathers and controversial works directed against heathen and Gnostic creeds, and on these we must still rely for the greater part of our information. It is, however, now becoming more and more possible to combine this literary evidence with the results of the excavator's work, together with the discoveries made by diligent research, and these new facilities enable us to attack the problems of this obscure period better equipped than ever before.

When and by whom the Gospel was first preached in Alexandria is a matter only of conjecture; and the origins of Christianity both there and in the Nile Valley are profoundly obscure. Egypt differed from Asia Minor and Greece in that alongside of the Hellenistic culture and religion was the old native civilization, decadent but still not altogether without vigour, immensely more ancient than anything either Greek or Hebrew, and possessing a great and complicated religious system, the roots of which were



buried in the past. In Alexandria, where were to be found men of all races and creeds, religious syncretism had set in long before the beginning of the Christian era, while away from Alexandria the old religion of Egypt was still all-powerful, although it had not altogether escaped the influence of Hellenism. It is therefore not surprising that Christianity during its infancy in a country where there were votaries of almost every conceivable cult known, and where the intellectual tendency was to build up a Syncretism which would embrace all divergent creeds, should have been involved in the general *mêlée* of religious ideas.<sup>1</sup> We know from the Fathers how powerful and numerous, especially in Egypt; were those who professed themselves Christians, yet who declared that Christianity was only part of the Light, and that the germ of the whole truth lay in all religions, but was only comprehensible to those who were initiated or were possessed of a mysterious *gnosis*. The earliest record of the conflict between those professing to expound the *gnosis* and the preachers of the simple evangel is the dispute between Paul and Simon Magus, the latter of whom appears to have been the first to associate Christianity with the Gnostic mysteries. From Palestine the esoteric cult quickly spread to Egypt by what has been called by Mr. King<sup>2</sup> a kind of 'counter-apostolic succession' of famous Gnostic teachers, and perhaps reached its height in the systems promulgated there by Basilides and Valentinus, although there is plenty of evidence to shew that the doctrines were also widespread among the Christian communities of Syria and Asia Minor. Nevertheless it was in Egypt that these esoteric Christians flourished and were most numerous, and it is from Egypt that we are beginning to get direct evidence as to their systems and beliefs.

<sup>1</sup> The letter of Hadrian to Servian speaks of 'people who worship Serapis being Christians, while those who call themselves Bishops of Christ are adherents of Serapis. . . . No Christian presbyter but is an astrologer, a soothsayer, a vile wretch. When the Patriarch himself visits Egypt he is forced by some to worship Serapis, by others to worship Christ.' The letter is, however, to be assigned to the third century.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*.

The mysterious and involved speculations of the various Gnostic teachers make it almost impossible to arrive at the precise meanings of the various doctrines; nevertheless a single philosophic thread seems to have run through almost all of them in common. The Supreme God was unknowable and unfathomable, beyond all human conception, the world having been created by a Demiurge, the latter according to most sects an imperfect emanation of the Supreme God. Descending from the Demiurge was a vast concourse of emanations, angels, aeons, etc., varying according as the various sects drew their inspiration from Hebrew, Zoroastrian, Egyptian, or other systems. In Christ the Gnostics recognized the Logos, the representation of the Supreme God, the Light whereby the mysteries of their various and complicated systems were to be revealed, and accordingly His life and sayings were to be particularly studied and revered. Nevertheless the traditional life of Christ was regarded either as an allegory or as a deliberate fraud which cloaked a hidden meaning; the true revelation was only to be obtained through the medium of an esoteric history and doctrine not known to the ignorant and only to be understood by the *illuminati* after a long period of study and asceticism. To those outside the pale the early Gospel histories of Christ might be sufficient; but to all who were willing to probe deeper there was a mystic and esoteric doctrine, hidden from the discernment of the vulgar, which gave the key to all religions and philosophies and explained the mysteries of the heights and of the depths. The way in which these mysteries were concealed in allegories, manipulations of figures, employment of mysterious words with occult meanings, and similar methods of obscurity, afforded a great opportunity for mystics who were versed in the various esoteric cults of paganism to mingle around the personality of Christ a mysterious doctrine the intricacies of which are sufficient to make the brain of the non-initiated reel.

There can be little doubt that Gnosticism made great headway in Egypt during the greater part of the second century. Yet this is what was to be expected. Egypt

had always been a land addicted from time immemorial to mysticism and magical practices, which were nevertheless of a most material character, wholly lacking in any spirit of metaphysical speculation. During more than three centuries of contact with the Greeks, however, a spirit of philosophic mysticism had grown up, especially among the Egypto-Greeks in and around Alexandria, of which the metaphysical side was mainly Greek, but the vehicles whereby the mysteries were expressed for the most part Egyptian. The large number of Jews in Alexandria had also been affected by this movement, and were evolving an inner and esoteric doctrine of their own from their sacred Scriptures. In addition there was also the influence of various Eastern cults, such as those of Atys, Mithra, Zoroaster, and possibly even of Buddha. Moreover the old cult of Isis and Osiris had been many years before transcendentalized for the benefit of Greek and Roman mystics. The whole legend had been fitted into a scheme of Platonic idealism lifted far out of the realm of Egyptian religious beliefs, if Plutarch's study *De Iside et Osiride* represents the current thought of Alexandria, as there is every reason to believe, for these two deities had become not only types of the male and female principles in Nature, but world-spirits who existed in order to carry out the will of the Logos. But if foreign devotees little understood the Egyptian ideas about Isis and Osiris, they perpetuated the mystic side of the worship at a time when the old national religion was fast dying, although in a form so distorted as scarcely to be recognizable by a priest of the native cult. To the Greeks this mingling of religions afforded ample scope for syncretism and speculation; while the Egyptian, although quite incapable of appreciating the higher philosophic subtleties of thought, immensely admired the magic and mystery which clothed them, as well as what may be described as the 'machinery' whereby they were expressed—that is to say, the talismans, amulets, spells, charms, etc., and looked on complacently while his ancient religion was made part of a great magical system by which everything mysterious was to be compelled to yield up its mystery.



Christianity therefore in Egypt from its earliest infancy was involved in this general movement of religious syncretism which provided a fertile soil for the growth of Gnostic teaching. Gnosticism has been accordingly described, as by Harnack, as 'an acute secularization of Christianity,' for to the pagan world the claim of the new faith to sweep away all the older creeds seemed both impious and unnecessary, while its connexion with Judaism also made it obnoxious to many. The Gnostics therefore considered that the true solution of these claims lay in a compromise. Christ was the Light whereby a glimpse of the Ineffable Father might be obtained, and the Interpreter not only of Christianity but of all other religious systems, which were thought to contain profound truths hidden beneath their surface; and in order to support their theories esoteric Gospels were invented whereby the initiated might pierce beyond the veil of popular superstition and obtain a vision of the heavenly hierarchy dimly hinted at but imperfectly revealed in the Gospels and religious systems of the past.

The work known as *Pistis Sophia* is the only Gnostic Gospel of this kind that has come down to us. It was discovered by Schwartz among the Coptic MSS. of the British Museum in 1851, and the text was edited by him with a Latin rendering of the Coptic. The work has been much discussed since, chiefly in Germany and France. Amélineau has edited the Coptic text, with a translation and Introduction; and Professor C. Schmidt has published a German translation, with translations of kindred books, the whole edited in a most thorough and admirable manner. There is no doubt that the last-named work is the best and most critical that has appeared, and to it everyone must turn who desires to make a thorough investigation of these obscure mysteries. Mr. Mead's, however, is the first edition of an English translation that has been published, and will accordingly appeal to a large circle of more general readers. Mr. Mead is himself a modern Gnostic—that is to say, he writes as one professing to find the key to religious difficulties in the mysteries of the Gnosis, and publishes his work under

the aegis of the Theosophical Society. This, however, does not lead him into the extraordinary nonsense poured forth by such of the *illuminati* as Gerald Massey or Dr. Albert Churchward, for example; and both this book and his general history and survey of Gnosticism, *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, will be found to contain as good and critical an exposition of Gnostic doctrines and their history as his point of view will admit. The translation of the text itself is from Schwartz's Latin translation and not from the Coptic, to knowledge of which, apparently, the author lays no claim. This, however, is of little importance, as Schwartz's Latin rendering need not be called in question, and Mr. Mead has checked his version with that of M. Amélineau. Nevertheless it is not a little curious to note, in passing, that this singularly heretical work should have come down to us through the medium of some pious Copt. M. Amélineau has dated the MS. itself as belonging to the ninth or tenth century at the earliest, and in spite of Mr. Mead, who wants to make it much earlier, there is little doubt that the former is right.<sup>1</sup> The original work, however, which was undoubtedly in Greek, belongs to the palmy times of Gnosticism, and may even have originated with Valentinus himself, although Harnack, Schmidt, and King attribute it to the Ophite (Barbelo) school.

*Pistis Sophia*, then, may briefly be described as an exposition of an esoteric doctrine by Jesus Himself. In the opening paragraphs He is described as having explained the 'First Mystery' to His followers during a period of eleven years after His resurrection. The scene is laid on the Mount of Olives, and, after a narrative of the Ascension, Jesus is represented as descending again in great glory and discoursing to the disciples of the greater mysteries. He relates to them how He had received after His ascension two shining vestures inscribed with five mystic words and

<sup>1</sup> A great variety of dates have been hazarded for this manuscript. Wright thought the seventh century: Hyvernath the sixth: Schmidt, without giving any reason, suggests the fifth for both the Codex Askewianus and the Codex Brucianus, and dismisses Amélineau's cogent reasons without argument.

the names of all the powers through whose domains He had to pass. He tells them how He passed through the regions of the twelve Aeons, each of whom in succession was overcome with terror as He went through it. Outside the thirteenth Aeon He found the weeping figure of the Power called Pistis Sophia, who gives her name to the work. Pistis Sophia had once received a glimpse of the Supreme Light, but her efforts to fly upwards to it were thwarted by Adamas, the ruler of her proper sphere, who in jealous rage caused a false light to shine on the waters of chaos beneath her. Deceived by this false light, she descends and becomes immersed in the abyss. With the aid of Jesus she is extricated, and ascends again by twelve successive steps through the twelve Aeons, and at each stage of her deliverance she sings a confession. As Jesus finishes reciting each of her confessions one of the disciples is represented as coming forward and proposing an explanation of it, which is found to be contained in a psalm or prophecy from the Old Testament possessing some similar sentiment. Next Mary Magdalene (who, it is interesting to notice, appears as the chief interlocutor and is especially praised for her desire to acquire wisdom) questions Jesus as to the final cause of sin. Jesus then gives a long and detailed description of the soul of man, which is represented as fourfold, the divine spark being bound down by the threefold matter originated by the rebellious Aeons, which ever try to keep it in their power and subject it to earthly passions. Then comes a description of the regions of torment, which are divided into twelve divisions or dungeons each ruled over by a monster whose authentic name and form is given. The whole of this domain is ruled by the Dragon of outer darkness. Jesus goes on to describe the judgement of souls by the Virgin of Light attended by her seven handmaids. With the exception of a few punishable by instant annihilation, every sin may be expiated by friends celebrating on behalf of the deceased the 'Mystery or Sacrament of the Ineffable One.' This is, as has been pointed out by Mr. King, probably the earliest notice extant of offering up a sacrament for the redemption of souls.



Jesus is next represented as explaining the four and twenty mysteries of which the above-mentioned mystery is the chief, although it is not explained in any way. The work here becomes mysterious beyond all comprehension, and the brain reels when confronted with long rigmaroles about the Seven Amens, the Seven Vowels, the Five Marks, interspersed with frequent allusions to seals, mysterious Numbers, Courses, etc. Even Mr. Mead's unflagging energy in unravelling these mysteries, in his *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, fails him here, and he is bound to confess that the key to them is not yet in the hands of latter-day Theosophists. The work is brought to a conclusion by a long fragment entitled 'A Portion of the Prayers of Jesus,' which is chiefly interesting because in it the Saviour is described performing a Mystic Sacrament for the remission of sins. This sacrament can be none other than the 'First Mystery' alluded to in the first part but left unexplained. Jesus places a vessel of wine on the right, and a vessel of wine on the left, with a cup of water between the two. By the cups he sets pieces of bread according to the number of the disciples, and grouping the latter behind him He offers a long prayer of mystic words, interpretation of which is given. He then turns to His disciples and says: 'Rejoice and be glad, for your sins are remitted, your offences blotted out, and ye have been numbered in the kingdom of My Father.' This Mystery then appears to be nothing else than the pronouncement of a magical spell which was doubtless considered exceedingly effective. The work closes with more information as to the fate of sinners, and the means of redemption.

The foregoing brief description of the mysteries explained by Jesus in *Pistis Sophia* enables us to understand how these metaphysical flights of thought vaguely outlined in an esoteric jargon must have appealed to the philosophic syncretist of Hellenic nationality or training. It is also probable that these kinds of Gnostic ideas were not confined to the Greek population in and around Alexandria. The Egyptians had always dearly loved mystery and magic, and much of the magic machinery in *Pistis Sophia* has a

close parallel in certain of the principal ideas and myths of the old Egyptian religion. For instance, in *Pistis Sophia* Christ relates how He passed through the twelve regions of the Aeons in His shining Vesture, the guardians of each of which were thrown into consternation and amazed at His brightness; moreover they were greatly distressed when they saw that the mystery of their names was written on the Vesture. Each Aeon also appears to have been separated from its neighbours by gates. Now in the solar system of the Egyptian religion the chief deity was the sun god Ra, who was thought to pass every night through twelve regions, corresponding to the twelve hours of the night and each divided from its fellows by pylons or gates. As he passed through each division the demons who inhabited it were overcome by confusion and consternation. It was also considered essential that if the spirit of a dead man wished to accompany the sun god through these twelve regions of the night he should know the names of the various gods and demons who dwelt in each. Once the spirit knew their names he acquired a magical power over them that overcame all opposition. This contains a very similar idea to the description given by Jesus of the consternation of the dwellers in the Aeons at seeing their names on the Vesture of Light. Jesus also lays stress on the importance to the initiated of knowing the mysteries of the names of the rulers of the Aeons. He further declares that with a knowledge of these names the initiated can invoke their owners apparently as oracles, provided that the invoker knows also their precise 'revolution' and 'position.' All this is, of course, magic of a very well-known kind, and such as had been practised by the old Egyptians for centuries; nevertheless it is of more than passing interest to note how it was pressed into the service of Christianity during the infancy of the latter in Egypt.

When we come to the thirteenth Aeon and the story of the fall and gradual restoration of *Pistis Sophia*, the machinery becomes less Egyptian, while the philosophic ideas it contains are absolutely foreign to the Egyptian mind. The repentance of *Pistis Sophia* and the Saviour's exposition

in reply to Mary Magdalene's question as to the final cause of sin is again beyond the region of purely Egyptian philosophy, although the description of the composition of man, who is represented as possessing a 'counterfeit spirit' (in this case always dogging his footsteps as a kind of evil shadow) closely resembles the Egyptian conception of the *Ka* or double which every man was thought to possess. It is also to be observed that further on, in the description of the occult process of gestation, man is represented as having not only a counterfeit spirit, but also a soul, a compound power within the soul, and a destiny, corresponding very closely to the Egyptian *Ka* or double, *Ba* or soul, *Khu* or illuminated essence of the soul, and *shai* or destiny. But it is the description of the region of Outer Darkness that is more frankly Egyptian than anything else. It is as if the writer had transcribed his impressions of certain scenes from the Egyptian Duat or Underworld as depicted in the royal tombs at Thebes. The serpent that guards the dungeons can be no other than the Egyptian Apep or Apophis and has nothing to do with the Ophite demon, as has been thought by King, Schmidt, and others, while all the monsters, crocodile-headed, serpent-headed, dog-headed, etc., who guard the different divisions can be readily identified with demons of the Duat, with the possible exception of the creature described as having the face of a bear. Here again, too, we have twelve regions corresponding to the twelve regions of the Duat, and also mention of the great power the initiated have over the demons by knowing their names. There can, in short, be hardly any doubt that this place of Outer Darkness directly originated in the Underworld of the old Egyptian religion, and moreover it bears the Egyptian name of Amenti, the general term for the realm of the dead.

In outlining the foregoing points of resemblance between the machinery of *Pistis Sophia* and that of the old religion of Egypt it must be admitted that elaborate theories built up on them cannot have very stable foundations. Nevertheless it seems almost certain that this hybrid kind of religion was widespread among the early converts to Christianity in



the Nile Valley. Recent research in Egypt has brought to light the fact that not only Gnosticism but unorthodox practices of various kinds were general among the earlier Christian communities. It almost appears as if Christianity made its first appeal through those of its doctrines which could by distortion be made to resemble the old and ingrained ideas of the ancient religion. Gnosticism also, as we may see in *Pistis Sophia*, mingled practical paganism with Christianity in such a manner that the garbled religion became a half-way house between the new faith and the old creeds. It is some years now since the contents of the Christian graves at Akhmim (Panopolis) were published by Forrer; but, before proceeding further, it will be well to notice how some of the early symbolism from this site bears on this subject. Here as elsewhere the old Egyptian symbol of life, the *ankh* (☥), takes very generally the place of the cross, and indeed this emblem never entirely died out but was adopted into later iconography as the *crux ansata*. We have, too, the ancient Egyptian symbol of the eye still used as a protection for the Christian dead. As was usual in primitive Christian communities, the fish as representing the letters IXΘΥΣ is very general, but the type was borrowed unchanged from the Oxyrhynchus fish worshipped in certain parts of Egypt, as may be seen from a recently found coffin on which a fish floats above the body of the deceased lying on a bier.<sup>1</sup> One extraordinary fragment represents the Virgin, with Christ in the field, the latter portrayed with a child's head and fish's body. Perhaps one of the most curious evidences of the persistence of pagan customs is the use of the so-called 'Lazarus' figures, buried apparently as amulets with the dead. In the old religion of Egypt it had been the custom, especially general in later times, to place with the dead numerous mummified figures of Osiris, the god of the dead and type of the resurrection. A leaden figure from one of the graves at Akhmim very closely resembles the Romano-Alexandrian figures of Osiris and possibly is meant to represent that deity. It is more probable, however, that it is Lazarus who is intended as

<sup>1</sup> *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, tome ix. fasc. 1.

typifying the resurrection and as the successor of Osiris in the affections of the Egyptians. It is curious to note how the type of Lazarus as a swathed and bandaged mummy passed into later Byzantine iconography, and it is quite probable that the earlier figures may have derived their inspiration from the mummified form of Osiris in the same way as the Madonna and Child type from the ancient Isis and Horus group. But with the exception of the eastern symbol of the *swastika*, definitely Gnostic symbolism is wanting from Akhmim. This last-mentioned emblem is, however, common both here and on objects from other Christian sites. No satisfactory explanation has yet been put forward as to its meaning or as to how it came to be adopted by the early Christians; but it occurs frequently as a design on the early Christian tombs of Asia Minor, especially in Pisidia and the borders of Lycaonia and Isauria.<sup>1</sup>

From another source of early Egyptian Christian antiquities, the excavations at Antinoë by M. Gayet, we are able to glean a great deal of curious information. Unfortunately it has not been put at our disposal in a very orderly or scientific manner. M. Gayet can hardly escape the charge of being theatrical. One of the bodies found on this site was that of a woman whose name appears from a *graffito* written on some fallen plaster in the tomb to have been Thaïs, and this has been hailed by its discoverer as proof that these are the mortal remains of the celebrated courtesan of Alexandria. It is urged as additional proof that a neighbouring grave contained the body of an anchorite named Serapion, and this latter is presumed to be the monk who was supposed to have converted her to Christianity and led her from her evil life. A great deal has been made of this at the Musée Guimet, but although the theory is possible it is not very probable, as the former name is on the evidence given very doubtful, and the latter one of the commonest of the period and might have belonged to anyone. Again, it is very difficult to understand how

<sup>1</sup> A. Margaret Ramsay in Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Studies in the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*.

M. Gayet would date many of the tombs and their contents, chiefly owing to a very vague and inaccurate use of the term Byzantine. In one case he refers to the burial of a 'chevalier byzantin,' describing the robes worn by the defunct as typical of the fifth century, but the pottery designs from the same tomb as being representative of the earliest type of Alexandrine Church symbolism. Moreover, our suspicions as to his capacity are aroused when he speaks of 'la sépulture d' 'Απολλων εὐψυχι,' evidently regarding the second word as part of the deceased's name. M. Gayet ought to have known that it is merely a word of farewell to the deceased very generally employed at this time. Nevertheless he has brought to light some very interesting material that bears closely on our subject.

The cemetery at Antinoë dates from the time of Hadrian<sup>1</sup> and appears to have been used for several centuries after. The Christian dead were here, as elsewhere, mummified. This ancient custom seems to have been given up reluctantly by the Egyptians, and there is little doubt that they continued to think that the existence of the soul depended on the preservation of the body. Its abandonment was probably due to the opposition of Antony, who became the ideal monk and Christian, not only of Egypt but of all the world. Many of the tombs present certain peculiarities of interest. Like those of Pharaonic times, they are cut into the cliff, but in front of some was built a chapel of crude bricks stuccoed inside. On this stucco were painted frescoes that are typical of primitive Christian art, such as figures of the Good Shepherd, a woman standing in prayer, doves, peacocks, fishes, and the trees of the garden of Paradise. But, curiously enough, in many cases these frescoes have been plastered over. M. Gayet suggests that as these tombs appear to be prior to the time of Constantine, this was done to avoid persecution or spoliation by Pagans, especially as their magical properties would not be harmed by their being hidden. Be this as it may, it is interesting

<sup>1</sup> Antinoöpolis, the city, was founded by Hadrian to immortalize the name of Antinous, a youth of whom the Emperor was enamoured and who was drowned in the Nile. Antinous was here worshipped as Osiris.



to find tomb chapels dedicated apparently to the cult of the dead still being built by the Christians. Were they simply used as places of prayer for the relatives of the deceased, or may we suppose that, as some of the tombs were certainly those of Gnostic Christians, some such rite as the 'Sacrament of the Ineffable One,' referred to in *Pistis Sophia*, was performed in them? <sup>1</sup> From one of these tombs comes a little terra-cotta group of two figures feasting at a table which, as is suggested by M. Gayet, is a model of the '*Agape*.' Taken in this connexion it may not unlikely have had some sacramental import in relation to the dead. Buried with the woman Thaïs was a regular outfit for the *Agape*—a basket to hold bread, a basket to hold a cup, and a large amphora of wine—a discovery which calls to mind the saying of St. Jerome '*Nihil illo ditius qui corpus Domini portat in vimineo canistro et sanguinem in vitro*.' Are we here confronted with a survival of the ancient Egyptian belief of nourishing the soul with food, in this case with the Holy Elements, or have we an example of the celebration of some atoning 'mystery' to cleanse the deceased from her sins? Whether Thaïs was a follower of some Gnostic sect or not, it seems evident that those who laid her in her last resting-place conformed to a custom general among the early Christians of Africa, which was subsequently suppressed at the Council of Hippo in 393.<sup>2</sup>

Several other things found at Antinoë call for notice. Just as the Pagans buried hard by were surrounded by terra-cotta *lares*, figures of Venus, Isis-Hathor, Apollo, etc., so were the Christians buried with figures of St. George and St. Michael. A young man whose dead hands grasped a peculiar ivory object, declared by M. Gayet to be Gnostic, was equipped with a pair of sandals for the journey beyond after the manner of the old Egyptians.

<sup>1</sup> An investigation of the early Christian cemetery at El Khargeh revealed the fact that above nearly all the tombs was a chapel with a niche for receiving food offerings made to the dead (Myers, in *Man*, 1901, No. 91). The Copts of to-day place food on the tombs of their dead at festivals, but this custom may be only borrowed from the Mahommedans.

<sup>2</sup> Article 5 of the Council of Hippo forbade the custom of burying the Holy Elements with the dead, or of giving the Host to dead persons.

Both Thais and another Christian were buried with a kind of praying board surmounted by a cross, containing an ingenious arrangement by which prayers could be counted, and apparently the forerunner of the rosary.<sup>1</sup> The body of Serapion declares him to have been one of the early ascetics. Around his waist is an iron hoop, from the front of which dangles a cross, and this he must have worn through life as a continual mortification of the flesh. On the grave clothes of another, perhaps a Christian Gnostic, we see the design of the *swastika* and other semi-pagan symbols. It is, however, impossible within the scope of this article to recount all the various pagan, eastern, and semi-pagan Christian designs found at Antinoë, more especially as the date of a great many is very uncertain, and M. Gayet has done little to help us by any systematic arrangement of his discoveries. As examples of a mingling of religions they are all outdone by the extraordinary mummy of a supposed Christian priest found by M. Naville at Dêr-el-Bahari. This seems by its general style to belong to the second half of the third century, but the fact that a label inscribed in Coptic was found attached has caused it to be considered of later date. The figure is represented on the shroud as holding a cup in his right hand and some ears of corn in his left, emblems, according to M. Naville, of the Eucharist. On his left breast is the *swastika* and below the bark of Isis being adored by Anubis and Apuat!<sup>2</sup> An almost precisely similar mummy is in the Cairo Museum and has been illustrated in Mr. Edgar's catalogue recently published.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Edgar admits that the mummies are those of semi-pagan Christians, but agrees with M. Naville as to their being of late date. Quite apart from the unlikelihood of Paganism surviving in such a pronounced form in a Christian community, the general style of the figures, and especially the

<sup>1</sup> The early Anchorites are said to have filled their mouths with pebbles and to have spat out one as each verse of the psalm being repeated was finished.

<sup>2</sup> Guimet, *Symboles Asiatiques*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, xxx.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Graeco-Egyptian coffins.

execution of the Isiac cult scene, make the end of the third century the *terminus ad quem* for the dating of these remarkable figures.

Although the Christian antiquities in the museum at Cairo catalogued by Strzygowski are mostly of too late a date to throw much light on the earlier period, it is impossible to turn over the leaves of the Viennese professor's fine work without realizing by what a deluge of mixed influences in religion, philosophy and art Egypt was submerged during the first century to the fourth of our era. We are able to trace in the religious art of that age the same influences which acted on the religion itself; first the advent of Hellenistic influence superimposed on the old art, then the inflow through Alexandria of the influence of the Near East. We can see from the fragments of the temple dedicated to Mithra in the Fayum how the Syrian motives in architecture passed into Christian design; we are shewn the gradual change of the old Egyptian technique, as the old ideas were swept away by the host of new creeds and philosophies; and we see how, with the triumph of Christianity, the art settled down to a more or less definite style, which however had lost much of its old originality and fidelity to nature. Yet in the new art evolved through Christian influences it is still possible to trace the old feeling and technique, just as many of the old typically Egyptian traits descended to the Christian Copts through the two centuries of religious anarchy we have been discussing. To all this Professor Strzygowski draws attention in his Preface, and among other examples cites one of more than passing interest. A peculiar type of the 'Anastasis' so common in Byzantine iconography represents the Saviour with a cross in His hand, trampling on the gates of Hell and freeing Adam and Eve from the pit. Under the feet of Christ lies a naked man through one of whose eyes the butt end of the cross is driven. This piece of iconography is confined to the Eastern Church, and is never found in the West. Where, then, are we to seek the original of this *motif*? Such a conception does not exist in classical antiquity. Strzygowski recalls an incident in one of the romances of Setne Khamuas popular in the days of



Roman Egypt. In this Setne Khamuas, the great magician (or Setme, as he is there called), is represented as visiting in company with his son, Si-Osiri, Amenti, which was of course the regular Egyptian underworld divided into twelve divisions similar to the 'Place of Outer Darkness' adopted by the Gnostics in *Pistis Sophia*. As this tale is not only a splendid example of the native story-teller's art, but contains conceptions of morality and justice startlingly elevated for a magical romance, it is worth quoting at some length. Setme was seated one day in his house with his son Si-Osiri when

At a certain moment behold, Setme heard the voice of a wailing and he looked out of the upper chambers of his dwelling and behold ! he saw a rich man whom they were carrying out to the desert necropolis, the wailing being loud exceedingly. . . . He gazed again, he looked at his feet, behold ! he saw a poor man being carried out from Memphis to the cemetery, he being wrapped in a mat and none walking after him. Said Setme, ' By Ptah the great god, how much better it shall be in Amenti for great men for whom they make glory with the voice of wailing than for poor men whom they take to the desert necropolis without glory of a funeral ! ' But Si-Osiri said, ' There shall be done unto thee in Amenti like that which shall be done to this poor man in Amenti ; there shall not be done unto thee that which shall be done to this rich man in Amenti. Thou shalt go into Amenti and thou shalt see. . . . '

The papyrus becomes illegible here, but it is to be understood that Setme and his son Si-Osiri penetrate the mystic entrance of the Tê or Duat. After passing the first four halls

They entered the fifth hall and behold Setme saw the noble spirits standing in their places, and those who had charges of violence standing at the entrance praying ; and *one man in whose right eye the bolt of the door of the fifth hall was fixed, he praying, he uttering great lamentation.*

They entered the sixth hall and behold ! Setme saw the gods of the council of the dwellers in Amenti, standing in their places, the attendants of Amenti standing and making proclamation.

They entered the seventh hall, and behold ! Setme saw the figure of Osiris the great god seated upon his throne of fine gold, and crowned with the *atef* crown, Anubis the great god being on

his left and the great god Thoth on his right ; and the gods of the council of the dwellers in Amenti were standing to left and right of him. The balance was set in the midst before them, and they were weighing the evil deeds against the good deeds, the great god Thoth recording, and Anubis giving the word to his colleague. For he of whom it shall be found that his evil deeds are more numerous than his good deeds is delivered to Ama<sup>1</sup> the Lord of Amenti ; his soul and his body are destroyed and she does not permit him to live again for ever. But as for him of whom it shall be found that his good deeds are more numerous than his evil deeds, he is taken among the gods of the council of the Lord of Amenti, his soul going to heaven with the noble spirits. And he of whom it shall be found that his good deeds are equal to his evil deeds, he is taken amongst the excellent spirits that serve Sokari-Osiris.

And Setme saw there a great man clothed in raiment of byssus, near to the place where Osiris was, he being of exceeding high position.

Setme marvelled at those things which he saw in Amenti. And Si-Osiri walked out in front of him ; and he said to him, ' My father Setme, dost thou not see this great man who is clothed in raiment of royal linen, standing near to the place in which Osiris is ? He is that poor man whom thou sawest being carried out from Memphis with no man following him, wrapped in a mat. He was brought to the Tê and his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds that he did upon earth ; and it was found that his good deeds were more numerous than his evil deeds, considering the life destiny which Thoth had written for him . . . considering his magnanimity upon earth. And it was commanded before Osiris that the burial outfit of that rich man, whom thou sawest carried forth from Memphis with great laudation, should be given to this same poor man, and that he should be taken among the noble spirits as a man of God that follows Sokaris Osiris, his place being near to the person of Osiris. But that great man whom thou didst see, he was taken to the Tê, his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds, and his evil deeds were found more numerous than his good deeds that he did upon earth. It was commanded that he

<sup>1</sup> A composite female monster who in the earlier recensions of the *Book of the Dead* was represented as crouching near the scales, ready to devour all those to whom the weighing was unfavourable : in other words, sin was punished by annihilation.

should be requited in Amenti, and he is that man whom thou didst see *in whose right eye the pivot of the gate of Amenti was fixed*, shutting and opening upon it, and whose mouth was open in great lamentation.<sup>1</sup>

This scene of the wicked man grovelling in Amenti with the long doorpost fixed in his eye<sup>2</sup> must have been familiar to Egyptians of the Roman period, and as time went by it is even possible that it came to represent in general the retribution meted out to the wicked, and so passed into early Christian imagery. It is this, at any rate, that Strzygowski considers to be the original of these 'Anastasis' pictures, and it would appear from other evidences to have passed through Jewish intermediaries into Byzantine Greek iconography. This explanation seems less improbable when we remember how the Egyptian divisions of the *Duat* were utilized for the description of hell in *Pistis Sophia*, and it is possible that these and similar ideas filtered through into later iconography long after the sects who first adopted them had died out.

It is stray indications such as the above that seem to shew us that the Christian community in Egypt was at the first undermined by Gnosticism and semi-paganism. We are almost justified in concluding that, owing perhaps to the activity of the Gnostics and the ignorance of the early Christian missionaries, a large number of the first Christian communities had but a very dim acquaintance with the true Gospel of Christ. It was not until the sure establishment of the episcopate in Alexandria and the rise of the school of Clement that the influence of true Christianity began to be effective among the scattered communities of early converts. Even then progress was slow in the outlying parts, if we are to believe Epiphanius, who declares that Gnostic sects continued to flourish in his day. The attitude of Athanasius to Antony and the early ascetics, which won them entirely over to his side, together with the definite establishment of

<sup>1</sup> From *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, translated by F. Ll. Griffith.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps in form a *tau* †. The hieroglyph for a doorbolt, however, is only slightly different.



the faith of the Church by the various Councils, were the means by which these heresies were eventually stamped out. But up to the end of the third century the history of Christianity in Egypt is only lit by such fitful gleams as the books we have just discussed reveal. With the organization of the ascetics the faith of Egypt took a definite form. Athanasius was passionately supported throughout the Arian controversy by the native Egyptian believers and anchorites, to whom, little comprehending the subtle disquisitions of the contending parties, it was sufficient that Arius seemed to desire to dethrone the Son from His equality with the Father. The decisions of the Council of Chalcedon as to the personality of Christ they could not understand, for a dual personality was a thing beyond their comprehension. But for some time before this, if we are to trust the Coptic accounts, religion had sunk into the rigid practice of formalism and asceticism which in turn led to the development of thaumaturgy and miracle-mongering. After the Council of Chalcedon they ranged themselves on the same side as their Jacobite monophysite brethren of the East, and so cut themselves off from Western Christendom; nevertheless a remnant have obstinately clung to their faith, which endures to-day after eleven centuries of existence under the shadow of Islam.

P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

#### ART. V.—ESCHATOLOGY AND THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

1. *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian.* By R. H. CHARLES, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. (London: A. & C. Black. 1899.)
2. *The Book of Enoch.* By the same. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1893.)
3. *Von Reimarus zu Wrede.* Von ALBERT SCHWEITZER. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 1906.)
4. *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea.* By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, B.D. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. 1908.)

5. *The Doctrine of the Last Things ; Jewish and Christian.*  
By the same. (London : John Murray. 1908.)
6. *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future according to the Synoptic Gospels.* By H. B. SHARMAN, Ph.D.  
(Chicago : The University of Chicago Press. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1909.)

## I.

THE first duty that devolves upon one who writes under this title is to make clear what he means by Eschatology, and he must then shew in what way it is connected with the teaching of the Kingdom of Heaven. The term 'Eschatology,' then, is taken in its widest and amplest connotation, as meaning the doctrine or system of conceptions concerning the Last Things ; and it is clear that it may thus be used with a double reference, according as the allusion is to the future of any special race or to that of the individual. In dealing with the Jewish people, especially, the two ideas must be borne in mind, since there the nation was to so large an extent the religious unit. It is due to this fact, moreover, that the Kingdom of Heaven must be considered in close connexion with Eschatology ; for the Jewish view of it was largely due, as we hope soon to shew, to a conflation of their national with their individual eschatology. The conception of the Kingdom of Heaven, therefore, appears in the development of Jewish religious thought as a special element in the eschatology or general doctrine of the Last Things which we find in Jewish literature ; and it is to the history of this connexion, up to the close of the life of Jesus Christ, that we propose to devote the first part of this article. The Kingdom of Heaven is a phrase with which all are conversant from the reading of our Lord's teaching in the Gospels ; but it may also provide an interesting study, when regarded, as here, historically in its relation to the whole eschatological furniture of the Jewish people, of which it forms one of the chief factors.

For this purpose we cannot do better than begin at the beginning, and sketch, albeit briefly, the probable course of Jewish speculation upon the final destiny of the nation

and its members. During the period of Israel's history which preceded the age of the prophets, this course of speculation falls naturally into three distinct divisions. The first coincides with the pre-Mosaic infancy of the Jewish people. During this time it appears that the Israelites shared with their primitive neighbours a form of ancestor-worship.<sup>1</sup> Ample evidence of this exists in practices which survived into later days and in literary allusions. The Teraphim, for instance, were gods which might be buried, not profaned, and they appear to have been fashioned in human form<sup>2</sup> and in the likeness of ancestors,<sup>3</sup> while the dead were invoked under the title of 'elohim,' which means 'gods.' Sacrifices were offered to the dead,<sup>4</sup> and, as among the Greeks in early times, these could only be performed by a son. There are also allusions to primitive mourning usages which attest the prevalence of the same cult in bygone times. Naturally this worship carried with it a detailed and elaborate view of the other world, which lies beyond death. Each family had its ancestral grave, and a man was speaking quite literally when he looked forward to being 'gathered to his fathers.' The grave was usually near a house or a temple, so that sacrifices might the readier be paid; a contrast indeed to the custom of later centuries, when graves were marked white, for fear of their uncleanness causing pollution. Here the dead still lived, in an intimate connexion with their surviving kinsmen. They could injure, if they chose, those who were still alive on earth? They were to be consulted on the future and on the present.<sup>5</sup> Rachel could still weep for her children.<sup>6</sup> Yet they in their turn depended in some sort on the bounty of their kinsfolk for any pleasure in the grave. Mutilation, for instance, made them restless, and disinterment turned them into afflicting demons; while no worse penalty could befall Jezebel than the refusal to her of burial.<sup>7</sup> It was not that the unburied were shut out, as in Greek and Roman cults, altogether from the pale of Hades, but at least they were debarred from

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxv. 4.<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xix. 13, 16.<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 24.<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxvi. 14.<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. xxviii. 14-25.<sup>6</sup> Jer. xxxi. 15.<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings ix. 10.

receiving sacrifice ; and so fond were they of sacrifices that the offerer expected and secured their favour by his gifts. Thus it is not surprising that care was taken to bury even suicides and foes.

The second landmark in the growth of pre-prophetic eschatology is afforded by the introduction of the religion of Jehovah, which may probably be ascribed to Moses. It must have been clear that the primitive ancestor-worship, of which we have just spoken, and the view of the other world which it involved, were scarcely compatible with any form of Jehovah-worship, even though it survived long after the introduction of the latter.

The first change which the new religion brought about was the centralization of the family graves into one national Sheol—a change rendered inevitable by the growing national consciousness of Israel. But there were still various divisions in Sheol, not ordered on any moral plan, but rather by what we may call considerations of ceremony. Honourable burial was necessary to honour in that land of dust and disorder : otherwise men were relegated to the worst parts,<sup>1</sup> and penned in chambers,<sup>2</sup> gated<sup>3</sup> and secured with bars. Here too the prophet still wore his mantle, and the king his crown ; each nation kept its national garb, and murdered men their wounds.<sup>4</sup> Hunger and thirst, love and fear, were not absent ; and Isaiah could speak of the dead as ‘the knowing ones.’<sup>5</sup> Yet Sheol was locally far enough away, in the lowest part of the earth and below the sea, though above the subterranean waters ; and it was totally outside the realm of Jehovah. What wonder if Job called it ‘the land of darkness’<sup>6</sup> ? It is clear, then, that the early Jehovah-worship did little to alter the ordinary beliefs as to life after death, beyond the important fact of centralization. The time for moral distinctions in Sheol was not yet.

The third division, however, is concerned with a change of far greater moment, due to the inroad of the theology

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxxii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Prov. vii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. ix. 13, cvii. 18 ; Is. xxxviii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1 Kings ii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Is. xix. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Job. x. 21-22.



represented in the second Creation-story of Genesis. It was not due to higher ethical conceptions of Jehovah so much as to a new psychology. Hitherto man was composed of soul and body, whereof the soul, the seat of personality, left the body at death,<sup>1</sup> even though sometimes it elected to stay near it. But on the later view, man was trichotomous; for God's spirit breathing on the material body gave birth to the soul, which was thus a temporary function of animated matter. This spirit of life was impersonal and the gift of God,<sup>2</sup> and Jehovah could call it back to him when He willed<sup>3</sup>; but the soul which it produced, like the *θυμός* in Homer, had no independent existence. Naturally this view of the soul brought about a revised eschatology. Sheol did not cease to be; but henceforth, where this view prevailed, it became identical with Abaddon or destruction. Existence and life gave way to mere subsistence and deep sleep<sup>4</sup> in a land of forgetfulness and silence: the dead have no knowledge,<sup>5</sup> and could rightly be called 'the dead ones.'<sup>6</sup> They had gone to a bourn whence no traveller returned.<sup>7</sup> Hitherto, then, the religion of Jehovah has introduced two chief changes into Jewish eschatology, the one traceable to a political, the other to a psychological, cause; both of which motives we may find operating in later centuries. It has made the many graves of clans into one Sheol, and it has rendered that Sheol void of all interesting content. But we shall see soon that this was but preparatory to the introduction of another motive yet—the motive, to wit, which came from a growing sense of God's righteous sovereignty on the one hand, and of personal communion with Him on the other. The old views of Sheol still underlay much, if not most, of the religious thought of the next ages; but the points of immediate concern for prophet and for saint alike is the justice of God's dealings with His people and with the individual soul; and ultimately, when a synthesis is made between the future of the Holy People and the future of the Righteous man, we shall find, as we

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxv. 18; Jonah iv. 3.<sup>2</sup> Gen. vii. 22.<sup>3</sup> Eccles. xii. 7.<sup>4</sup> Job. iii. 13-23.<sup>5</sup> Eccles. ix. 5.<sup>6</sup> Is. xxvi. 14.<sup>7</sup> Job vii. 9.

should expect, that from the ennobled doctrine of God has sprung a richer and higher eschatology.

## II.

Concurrently with the individual eschatology here described there went a national eschatology—that is, a system of views about the blessed future of the chosen people of Israel. The Jews believed that God was reserving for them as a nation in the future a state of complete prosperity and freedom from molestation; and that this state would be introduced by ‘the Day of Jehovah,’ when God would punish all the foes of Israel and destroy them for ever. It is clear at once that, though this doctrine displays a whole-hearted faith in the beneficent purpose of God, it represents also an ethical estimate of God’s character which is not of the highest. The great work which the prophets did for Israel was to purge the Jewish conception of all its unethical elements, and to set God before men as not the Lord of their nation only, but the moral ruler of the world. Accordingly we shall expect to find, and we do find, in the prophetic writings a greatly refined doctrine of the Last Things—both as regards the nation and as regards the individual. *Firstly*, as regards the nation, a new meaning came to be given to the Day of Jehovah and to the blessed state which it was to introduce. The Day of Jehovah, to which the Jew looked forward for the vindication of his God’s and his own dominion, would come indeed; but it would be a day when the righteousness of God would be shewn in judgement upon Israel itself. ‘You only have I known,’ wrote Amos,<sup>1</sup> ‘of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities.’ Here was a great inversion of the current conception of Jehovah. At the same time, the state of national blessedness, which men had believed would follow the Day of Jehovah, came to be differently conceived. The prophets foretold a coming kingdom; but this kingdom was not to be co-extensive with the whole Jewish people. It was to consist rather of a regenerated community, in which the Divine

<sup>1</sup> Amos iii. 2.

will was wholly fulfilled, and which was always being moulded and spiritualized by the actual presence of God. The future of the nation was conceived now as a veritable Kingdom of Heaven or Kingdom of God, in which only the righteous should have part. Some of the prophets—Isaiah, for instance—even promised that after the final Judgement of the Day of Jehovah, the righteous among the heathen should share with the righteous Jews in the blessings of the coming Kingdom of God.

*Secondly*, the prophetic period marks also a great advance on the previous one with regard to the teaching of the individual's destiny after death. The view gained ground that the communion of a man's soul with God in this life was something which death could not break; men could have echoed Browning's words—'What work begun can ever pause for death?' The Psalms are full of this teaching, especially, if one may choose one that probably belongs to this period, the seventy-third: it finds expression in the prophecies of Jeremiah: it is one of the principal themes in that great soliloquy of a bewildered soul, the Book of Job. 'If a man die,' he asks,<sup>1</sup> 'shall he live again? All the days of my warfare should I wait, till my release should come. Thou shouldest call, and I would answer thee: Thou wouldest have a desire to the work of thine hands.'

Thus then, about the time of Israel's going into captivity, we can see fairly clearly what the Jewish teachers thought about the Last Things, as they affected the nation and the individual. At last the Day of Jehovah would come, bringing God's judgement on the wicked; and it would be followed by the Kingdom of God, where the righteous, whether of the Jews alone, as in Ezekiel, or of the Jews and heathen alike, as in parts of Isaiah and Jeremiah, should dwell; and Jeremiah and Ezekiel foretold that this Kingdom of God should be ruled over by a dynasty of David's line. And at the same time, Jeremiah and the Psalmists were expressing an ever-deepening conviction that the soul's communion with God must continue when this life was ended, and could not lead merely to an unsubstantial half-

<sup>1</sup> Job xiv. 14-15.

existence in the vague limbo of Sheol. As yet there was no definite cohesion between the two doctrines of the future of the nation and the future of the individual respectively, and for a long time they were to flow on, like two rivers, side by side ; but they were the constituents which were afterwards to be integrated into a single eschatological view of great and far-reaching importance.

The closing years of the Assyrian Captivity gave birth to one of the noblest fragments of Jewish inspired literature, the sixteen chapters known as Deutero-Isaiah. Its burden was the return of Jehovah's people to their own land, and the rebuilding of the Temple, whereto the Egyptians and Ethiopians should repair. Yet first Israel must be converted : and this was to be brought about by the righteousness of the pious remnant, typified most vividly in the Songs of the Servant. The doctrine of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, His chosen Messiah, marks a great advance on the ideas of the earlier prophets—in this sense, that here for the first time the notion of vicariousness appears. The conception is too well known to need quotation. We need only draw attention to the vicariousness of his suffering, to the fact that he bare the sins of others. Jewish Messianic prophecy had never risen to such heights before, and never rose to them again ; but we shall see later on that our Lord often looks back to these passages as giving the most characteristic delineation of His office. It is true that in Amos the necessity of sorrow and death before joy and life could come is clearly set forth. But through the added idea of Messiah's vicarious work for Israel, the rough outline of Amos' work is fashioned by a subtler hand into a shape more rich and tender and delicate, replete with the love and mercy of Jehovah.

### III.

From the return of Israel to the days of our Lord the Jewish people passed through many vicissitudes. Yet their faith never failed them. When we have passed beyond the latest book of the Old Testament, there is ample evidence to shew that a section at least of the people continued to



hold fast their conviction in the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven and the Judgement of the world. This conviction is embodied for us, during the two centuries immediately preceding the birth of Jesus Christ, in a copious apocalyptic literature, so-called because the writers express their hopes in the form mainly of visions of the past and the future. To this class of literature, indeed, belong some parts of the Old Testament, notably the Book of Daniel; but outside the Old Testament, there is a large class of books, such as the Book of Enoch, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Psalms of Solomon, which were quite probably familiar to our Lord and to His Apostles; while even where they did not know the books themselves, they doubtless knew the ideas which they contained.

The three centuries succeeding the return of Israel to the Holy Land constitute a period which is the seedplot of many ideas which became common property in later ages. But above all it is important owing to the emergence during it of the doctrine of Resurrection. The weight of this new element in Jewish eschatology lies in this—that it marks the union of the two streams of national and individual eschatology alluded to above. And this synthesis is effected thus: from henceforth it is taught that the righteous dead shall arise to share in the joyous Kingdom of God which is reserved for the chosen people. It is clear how in this doctrine the twin demands of the nation and the individual are safeguarded. The nation is promised, after repentance, a blessed kingdom; the bond which joins the individual soul to God during this life is inherently indissoluble. How shall both these spiritual values be combined, both these demands be granted? The answer came in the doctrine of Resurrection from the dead. The Kingdom of Heaven should come; and the faithful Jews who had died before that time should rise from the dead to share in its privileges. True, this synthesis did not last uninterruptedly up to our Lord's days; but nevertheless it persisted on the whole, and our Lord gave His seal to it.

But other elements also first appear during this period in Jewish eschatology, the whole system of which, in fact,

undergoes complex elaboration. Let us take certain features separately.

In the first place, the conception of the Day of Jehovah, when God should judge the world prior to establishing His Kingdom, is greatly enriched. It would be marked by many woes and afflictions, and by disorders in the physical world.<sup>1</sup> Men's normal relations to one another would be subverted, and the turmoil would be the sign of the last Judgement and the end of all things.

For, secondly, the last Judgement would coincide with the inauguration of God's Kingdom. Either God Himself would appear on earth as Judge, or the Judgement should be carried out by the Messiah. It is true that a few writers<sup>2</sup> set the last Judgement at the end of the Messianic Kingdom; but that is a less common view than the doctrine of the Judgement at the beginning of it.

Again, the Kingdom itself was to be inaugurated by God's transcendent act. In some writers it was to be ruled over by a Messiah, in others by a Messianic dynasty; in others, again, there is no mention of Messiah.<sup>3</sup> But it is interesting to note that in nearly all cases where the Kingdom is spoken of as ruled over by a Messiah, its duration is said to be endless.

Moreover, the place of this Kingdom is sometimes said to be on the present earth, with Jerusalem as its centre<sup>4</sup>; sometimes in a new heaven and a new earth,<sup>5</sup> created either *de novo* or by a gradual transformation of existing conditions. Here again a definite tendency is visible—the tendency, namely, to connect the new heaven and new earth with a Kingdom, where there is a Messiah, and which is endless as opposed to temporary. It is into this Kingdom that the righteous enter, those who survive to that date being transformed to meet the new conditions, those who had died

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. Sol. xvii. 20-21; Test. Levi iv.; 4 Esdr. vi. 24; Assumption of Moses, x. 3-10.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Book of Jubilees, Enoch xci.-cv.

<sup>3</sup> En. i.-xxxvi., xci.-cv., cviii.; Assumpt. Mos.; Slavonic Enoch.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. En. i.-xxxvi.; Oracula Sibyllina iii.; En. xci.-cv.

<sup>5</sup> En. lxxxiii.-xc.; Test. xii. Patr.; Jubilees.

rising again from the dead. And membership in it is confined, according to the view of these later writers, to Jews alone, though not always to the whole nation, irrespective of ethical deserts.

Again, the Messiah appears in various forms. In some of the books of this period he appears as a man only : such, for instance, is the doctrine of the Psalms of Solomon ; while in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs Messiah is actually identified with the king then reigning, John Hyrcanus. But in others, and these the more important in their bearing on the New Testament, Messiah appears as a supernatural being sent from God. The classical representation of Messiah occurs in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch—a book which our Lord must almost certainly have seen and known. There the writer, working on and rendering more concrete an allusion in Daniel to ‘one like a son of man,’ who appeared on the clouds of heaven, depicts the nature and office of Messiah in the clearest outline. Much of the setting of older eschatological schemes is taken over—the new heaven and new earth, the everlasting Kingdom, the eternal punishment of the wicked. But these ideas are put in an entirely new proportion owing to the new and overpowering conception of the central figure, called the Son of Man. The novelty of this conception it would be easy to minimize. Daniel had spoken of a figure like a son of man : Enoch gives us the Son of Man in person. The Testaments had spoken of a Messiah of Levi’s line, and even identified him with their living king : Enoch gives us one who is pre-existent, the friend of God from the beginning. The writer of this part of Enoch<sup>1</sup> had spoken of a Messiah whom all worshipped, but who had no rôle to perform : the writer of the Similitudes gives us the Judge of the quick and dead, the wielder of all authority, the All-wise.

Perhaps this will best be seen by a brief survey of the general eschatology of the Similitudes, which will also exemplify in a typical illustration the kind of relation which the factors we have been enumerating bore to one another.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Charles’ division of the Book of Enoch is here followed.

First there will come the period of the sword, which will suffice to warn the Gentiles to repent; for after the last Judgement no repentance will avail. The Judgement day is variously denoted—as ‘that great day,’<sup>1</sup> ‘the day of tribulation and pain,’<sup>2</sup> ‘the day of anguish and affliction.’<sup>3</sup> It will be initiated by ‘the Son of Man,’ to whom all judgement has been committed.<sup>4</sup> He will sit on the throne of His glory,<sup>5</sup> and all men and angels will be judged before Him<sup>6</sup>; no lie will be possible at His tribunal,<sup>7</sup> and by word of mouth He will slay the ungodly.<sup>8</sup> He will do all this in virtue of His person; for He is the Son of Man. The Son of Man is now a supernatural person, one who abode with the Head of Days<sup>9</sup> and Lord of Spirits, hidden in God’s presence and chosen before creation and to eternity,<sup>10</sup> revealed to the elect<sup>11</sup>: His glory is for ever and ever,<sup>12</sup> and His dominion unlimited.<sup>13</sup> But, in addition to power, wisdom is His in an exceptional degree<sup>14</sup>; the secrets of wisdom stream from His mouth,<sup>15</sup> and wisdom is poured out like water before Him.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, He is wonderfully righteous,<sup>17</sup> and for His righteousness, as much as for God’s good pleasure, has He been chosen.<sup>18</sup>

His appearance on earth will be fraught with great consequences. It will be the signal for the revelation of good and the unmasking of evil.<sup>19</sup> Evil will vanish; for He will recall all Israel to life from their intermediate abode in Sheol.<sup>20</sup> Then shall the wicked be sentenced for ever with the heathen to ‘the flame of the pain of Sheol’<sup>21</sup>; the fallen angels are cast into a fiery furnace<sup>22</sup>; while the kings and the mighty are cast into Gehenna,<sup>23</sup> where they will burn and sink from sight in full view of the righteous.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>1</sup> liv. 6.      <sup>2</sup> lv. 3.      <sup>3</sup> xlviii. 8.      <sup>4</sup> lxix. 27.

<sup>5</sup> xlv. 3.      <sup>6</sup> li. 2, lxii. 3.      <sup>7</sup> xlix. 4.      <sup>8</sup> lxii. 2.

<sup>9</sup> xlvi. 2.      <sup>10</sup> xlviii. 3, 6.      <sup>11</sup> xlvi. 1.      <sup>12</sup> xlix. 2.

<sup>13</sup> lxii. 6.      <sup>14</sup> xlix. 3.      <sup>15</sup> li. 3.      <sup>16</sup> xlix. 1.

<sup>17</sup> xxxviii. 2, xlvi. 3.      <sup>18</sup> xlvi. 3, xlix. 4.      <sup>19</sup> xlvi. 3, xlix. 2, 4.

<sup>20</sup> li. 1, lxi. 5.      <sup>21</sup> lxiii. 10.      <sup>22</sup> liv. 6.      <sup>23</sup> liii. 3–5.

<sup>24</sup> xlviii. 9, 10. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 615–620, where Tartarus appears to be a deeper part of Hades; the latter is the intermediate place for all wicked souls, the former the final abode of such incorrigibles as Ardiaeus. Sheol and Gehenna seem to bear much the same relation to one another here as Hades and Tartarus.



Meanwhile, the righteous will see a new heaven and a new earth set up,<sup>1</sup> and vindicated by the Son of Man as theirs for ever.<sup>2</sup> Here they will be established in unhindered prosperity,<sup>3</sup> their faces will shine with joy,<sup>4</sup> and they will be vested with life<sup>5</sup> and light.<sup>6</sup> They will enjoy close communion with the Son of Man,<sup>7</sup> in the presence of the Lord of Spirits<sup>8</sup>; and His glory will be for ever and ever.<sup>9</sup>

But if the Similitudes of Enoch give us the clearest picture of Messiah's supernatural character, other features appear elsewhere. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, he appears as both priest and king, as born of both the priestly line of Levi and the royal house of Judah. Elsewhere again he is set before us as the prophet of God—all of which three features are predominant in the conception which the Christian consciousness has always had of its Lord and Master, Christ.

The places of the departed vary in various books, but on the whole it may be said that the final place of punishment, where those who are finally impenitent are tormented is called Gehenna; while the intermediate place, where those who are already dead await the Judgement, is commonly known as Sheol; there being this notable exception, that, as it was felt increasingly that the soul's communion with God must never be broken, Paradise was substituted for Sheol as the temporary abode of the faithful dead before their resurrection.

Lastly, one word should be said as to the mention of Elijah or Elias by Malachi.<sup>10</sup> He says that Elias shall appear before the coming of the Messiah and the Kingdom, to make ready the way of the Lord. This doctrine is, so far as the writer knows, proper to Malachi alone; but the importance and wide range of the belief in the previous coming of Elijah, which our Gospels attest, make it necessary to mention it here.

Thus, then, in a very cursory manner, passing over all detail and neglecting manifold exceptions, we have brought the doctrines of Jewish eschatology down to the times of

<sup>1</sup> Enoch xlv. 4, 5.<sup>2</sup> li. 5.<sup>3</sup> liii. 6.<sup>4</sup> li. 5.<sup>5</sup> lxii. 15.<sup>6</sup> xxxix. 7.<sup>7</sup> lxii. 14.<sup>8</sup> xxxix. 7.<sup>9</sup> xlix. 2.<sup>10</sup> Mal. iv. 5.

our Lord. It would be difficult to exaggerate the passionate earnestness with which these eschatological expectations were held by the devout Jews ; so passionately, indeed, were they held that the ethical element in them which had been created by the prophets was after their time often in danger of obscurity. It was one of the great offences of Jesus of Nazareth in the eyes of the Pharisees that, though outwardly He shared and spoke of the same hopes as they, He read into them the deep ethical spirit of Isaiah and the prophets ; and there had been only too many of the fervent Jews in these latter days who had let the spirit be subservient to the letter in their eschatological aspirations. The history here given of the growth of the teaching of the Kingdom of Heaven in Jewish eschatology may perhaps need some apology. But it was necessary, if we were to shew satisfactorily with what compelling force our Lord could claim to fulfil, even if also to transcend, the past. It is requisite, moreover, as a mental background for any who would approach the study of the Messiah's life and teaching. Jesus moved in an atmosphere of eschatological hopes ; the kernel of His preaching was the eschatological conception of the Kingdom of Heaven ; He sealed His work by what the Jew regarded as the central act of the future end of all things—namely, the Resurrection. The second part of this article will therefore be devoted to shewing, with as much detail as space permits, how completely the life of Jesus Christ crowned and fulfilled all that was pure in the expectations which the Jews cherished of their national blessedness in the coming Kingdom of Heaven. Finally, an attempt will be made to shew the apologetic bearing of what has preceded, in its relation on the one hand to the doctrine of the consciousness and Person of our Lord, and on the other to Comparative Religion.

#### IV.

At the very outset of the Gospel we are brought quite perceptibly into an atmosphere which is breathing earnest hopes for the future. The aged Simeon, in the second chapter of St. Luke, is introduced as 'just and devout,

waiting for the consolation of Israel.'<sup>1</sup> At a later time, Joseph of Arimathaea is described as one 'who also himself waited for the Kingdom of God.'<sup>2</sup> Anna, again, spoke about the infant Jesus to 'all who were waiting for the redemption of Israel.'<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the shepherds are glad at the angels' news of 'the Saviour, who is Messiah, the Lord,' and with Him they hear the angels' voices connecting the promise of 'peace on earth.'<sup>4</sup> The wise men from the East wished to know where Messiah was born; Herod expected a Messiah to come, for if assured of His existence he was prepared to go and worship Him; the woman of Samaria<sup>5</sup> believed that Messiah would come who was called Christ, and would shew the people all things. The current belief, furthermore, in Resurrection is shewn in very diverse quarters—by Martha,<sup>6</sup> for instance, who said that she knew Lazarus would rise again in the Resurrection at the last day, and by the tetrarch, Herod Antipas,<sup>7</sup> who believed that Jesus was John the Baptist risen from the dead. Such, then, are some of the main features of the environment into which the Lord was born—a belief in the blessed new order or Kingdom of God which was soon to come, a belief in the Resurrection of the just to join in it, a belief in the Day of the Lord or Day of Judgement. The religious Jew felt himself to be at the end of the old dispensation and to be on the eve of something fresh: let us see how the life of the historic Jesus and the claims He made reacted upon this situation. And for this purpose we shall be pursuing perhaps the simplest method if we take the several features of the Jewish eschatology of the time in the chronological order in which they were expected to occur, and examine how far Jesus fulfilled or failed to fulfil each. These events are, in order: (a) the coming of Elias, (b) the woes of the Messiah, (c) the Last Judgement, (d) the Kingdom of Heaven, (e) the person of Messiah.

(a) We have seen how the coming of Elias was expected owing to the prophecy of Malachi. And St. Mark's Gospel begins with the very words of the prophet: 'Behold, I send

<sup>1</sup> Luke ii. 25.<sup>2</sup> Luke xxiii. 51.<sup>3</sup> Luke ii. 38.<sup>4</sup> Luke ii. 11, 14.<sup>5</sup> John iv. 25.<sup>6</sup> John xi. 24.<sup>7</sup> Matt. xiv. 2.

my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.' The Evangelist recognizes in the appearance of John the Baptist the promised coming of Elias, which was to be the signal for the approach of the end. But did the Baptist himself claim this identification? It appears not. In the Fourth Gospel, indeed, he categorically disowns it, in the words: 'I am not.'<sup>1</sup> And in that case it is probable enough that, when he speaks of one coming after him who is mightier than he, he is alluding to the expected Elias, and not to the expected Messiah. And when Jesus does come, he does not know who He is. 'Art thou he that cometh?' he asks, 'or look we for another?' The answer he gets would perhaps not explain very much: 'Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see,'<sup>2</sup> and there follows an enumeration of the mighty works Jesus had done. But neither the Baptist nor the people were left long under the delusion that Jesus was Elias. He tells them emphatically that the Baptist was Elias: 'This is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare the way before thee: . . . and if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come.'<sup>3</sup> 'If ye will receive it'—but they did not: else they could only have drawn the inference that Jesus Himself was their Messiah, following after the Elias whom they expected. The Lord at any rate knew and claimed that the first factor in their eschatological hopes, the coming of Elias, had been fulfilled; and we can see, as the Jews could not, how true the fulfilment was.

(b) The Jews believed, as we saw, that the Advent of the Kingdom of God should be preceded by a period of affliction, sometimes called the 'woes of the Messiah,' followed by the final Judgement. It would seem that more than once Jesus shared and gave His seal to this expectation. 'Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake,' He says, 'for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.' 'Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you and persecute

<sup>1</sup> John i. 21.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xi. 3-5.<sup>3</sup> Matt. xi. 10, 14.



you . . . for my sake.' <sup>1</sup> And when He sends out the disciples, what strange warnings He gives them ! ' Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves.' Then He foretells their persecution, and adds the words : ' And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child : and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death.' <sup>2</sup> What is the meaning of all this persecution, this upheaval of social relationships, which He foretells in connexion with the coming of the Kingdom ? One explanation at least, which seems satisfactory, is that Jesus is alluding to the expected troubles which should herald the approach of the Kingdom. A recent German writer of great ability has even seen a reference to this in the last two phrases of the Lord's Prayer : ' Lead us not into temptation (or trial), but deliver us from the evil.' Be that as it may, our Lord's words at the close of His life are even more full of terrible warning : ' Now the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son. . . . And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake : but he that shall endure to the end shall be saved. . . . For in those days shall be affliction such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created unto this time, neither shall be. . . . For false Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect.' <sup>3</sup> It seems beyond doubt that Jesus foretold the Woes of the Messiah ; and the history of the early Church, persecuted and troubled, as we know it was, by many claimants to be the Christ, shews how truly the Lord's words came to pass.

(c) But in Jewish expectation, this period of affliction also went in close connexion with the Judgement. From the beginning Jesus had spoken of the Judgement, as if it were near. ' Woe unto thee, Chorazin ! woe unto thee, Bethsaida ! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. x. 16, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Mark xiii. 12, 13, 19, 22.

day of judgement than for you.' <sup>1</sup> And the same warning is given to Capernaum. Even more explicit is His promise of imminent judgement in the words which follow immediately after His allusion to the period of affliction, already quoted. 'But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and glory. And then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven. . . . This generation shall not pass, till all these things be done.' <sup>2</sup> And a day or two later Jesus gave the same warning in words almost identical to Caiaphas, the High Priest. He and the others to whom our Lord spoke could have had no doubt as to what He meant; for the image of the Son of Man on the clouds was used by Daniel as a figure of the Judgement. Doubtless they took the words in a literal sense, while Jesus realized their inadequacy, using them because there were no others to shew His meaning; but it is clear that this feature, too, in the eschatology of His time—namely, the truth of Judgement contemporary with the coming of the Kingdom was taken up by Jesus and claimed as fulfilled. In what sense it was fulfilled we may estimate a little later, in connexion with the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven and our views concerning it.

(d) Fourthly, then, we must see how far Jesus took upon Himself to fulfil the Jewish hopes regarding the Kingdom—not necessarily as they were held in His time, for then they were often narrow and unethical, but as they were voiced in the highest prophetic writings. At the very outset the Gospels speak with no uncertain accent as to what was the central point of the teaching and preaching of Jesus. 'Jesus came into Galilee,' says St. Mark in the first chapter, 'preaching the Gospel of [the Kingdom of] God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the Gospel.'<sup>3</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Mark xiii. 24-27, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Mark i. 14, 15.

again the commission that our Lord gave to His Apostles was in a similar strain: 'And as ye go, preach, saying, The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.'<sup>1</sup> Thus the burden of the message of Jesus, at least in the early days of His ministry, was the fact of the imminent approach of the Kingdom of God. But it was necessary first that its Advent should be preached. The word—that is, the tidings about the Kingdom—must be sown on good ground, before the supernatural harvest of sixty-fold and an hundred-fold is reaped; it is like the grain of mustard seed, which shoots up quickly, we know not how, into a mighty tree. Jesus insists that from the small beginning made in the preaching of the news should appear, suddenly and catastrophically, the richness and fulness of the Kingdom of God. And indeed in what words could the future coming of the Kingdom be more clearly spoken of than in those which Jesus taught his disciples to pray 'Thy Kingdom come'?

But if these passages shew that our Lord foretold the approach of the Kingdom, there are many others which shew that He expected this approach to occur in the immediate future. In St. Mark ix. 1, we read, 'And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Kingdom of God come with power.' And again in St. Luke xiii. 28, 29, 'There shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the Kingdom of God, and yourselves cast forth without. And they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.' And again a little later, 'And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God.'<sup>2</sup> These words shew how close Jesus and His disciples thought the Kingdom of Heaven to be. But there are others which have led some to insist that the Kingdom was spoken of in our Lord's teaching as already present. For instance, Jesus says to those who cavil at His cures: 'But if I by the finger of God cast out

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 7.<sup>2</sup> Luke xiv. 15.

devils, then is the Kingdom of God come upon you.' <sup>1</sup> 'Seek ye first,' He says, 'his Kingdom and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.' <sup>2</sup> Again, 'The Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence and the violent take it by force.' <sup>3</sup> Finally, there is the even more explicit statement: 'The Kingdom of Heaven is among you.' <sup>4</sup> Yet, if Jesus regarded the Kingdom as already present, His words at the institution of the Eucharist are strange; for they certainly seem to shew that He looked forward to the Kingdom as something which belonged to the near future. His words are: 'But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom.' <sup>5</sup> We have then, it seems, two sets of facts in the preaching of Jesus to account for—the one which shews that He looked for the Kingdom in the near future; whence the question arises: Was this expectation fulfilled? The other which points to His belief in the Kingdom as already present; whence we are led to inquire how this view can be reconciled with the previous one, and in what sense Jesus meant the passages quoted in support of it. An attempt may be made to answer the first question at once; the second may be dealt with in connexion with the person of the Messiah as portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels.

Jesus, then, expected the Kingdom of God to come, and to come in some supernatural manner—for so the parable of the mustard seed, for instance, testifies—in the immediate future: and we naturally ask, Did it come? If so, how are we to know it? Or was Jesus mistaken about it? These questions have to be answered, if the mind is not to be disquieted by the reflexion that the Lord's predictions were infinitely wide of the mark.

Now, we have seen that in the Jewish literature which immediately preceded the birth of Christianity the coming of the Kingdom was commonly made to synchronize with the coming of the Son of Man. But we also find in the Gospels that, besides speaking of the near advent of the

<sup>1</sup> Luke xi. 20.<sup>2</sup> Matt. vi. 33.<sup>3</sup> Matt. xi. 12.<sup>4</sup> Luke xvii. 21.<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxvi. 29.



Kingdom, Jesus speaks, too, of the near approach of the Son of Man. We pass over the passages about His coming in judgement on the clouds, to which reference has already been made ; and we will not do more than notice our Lord's difficult words when He sends out His disciples : ' Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come.' <sup>1</sup> But we may invite closer attention to the famous eschatological chapter St. Mark xiii. It must be remembered first that Jesus had three times foretold His approaching Passion and Death, and His Resurrection after three days ; and that for those whom He addressed Resurrection implied *pari passu* the coming of the Kingdom. What, then, does He say in St. Mark xiii. ? ' And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives over against the Temple Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, Tell us, when shall these things be ? And what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled ? And Jesus answering them began to say, Take heed lest any man deceive you : For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ ; and shall deceive many.' Then there follows a picture of the Judgement, which may perhaps be interpolated from some early apocalyptic work, and warnings about persecution ; during which He promises that the Holy Spirit will tell His disciples what to answer to their accusers : and perhaps we may see in this a fulfilment of Joel's prophecy that the Spirit should be poured out on all flesh at the coming of the Kingdom. Be that as it may, Jesus ends His words as follows : ' Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass until all these things be done. Heaven and earth shall pass away ; but my words shall not pass away. But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. Take ye heed, watch, and pray : for ye know not when the time is. For the Son of Man is as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch. Watch ye therefore : for ye know not when the master of the house cometh,

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 23.

at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrow, or in the morning. Lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping. And what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch.' Thus, then, Jesus, at the end of His life, foretold His speedy return. And we have seen that He had before foretold His return from the tomb. Why should we not therefore suppose that in both passages He was alluding to the same event—namely His Resurrection; and that therefore in the fact of His Resurrection, the promises of His own speedy coming and of the immediate advent of the Kingdom were alike fulfilled?

But here one is confronted with two difficulties: Firstly, Jesus foretold His Resurrection after three days; but He said in St. Mark xiii. that He did not know when His coming should be. An explanation, however, is at hand, if we suppose that He meant the words 'after three days' in the sense which they very commonly bore on Jewish lips—namely, 'after a short time.' The use of 'two days' or 'three days,' when a short time of uncertain duration is meant, can be amply illustrated from Hebrew literature.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, what did our Lord mean by the words 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away'? A satisfactory answer is given, it seems, if we connect them with the popular Jewish expectation that, when the Kingdom came, it would be on a new heaven and a new earth; and assert that for one who believes in and lives in the light of the Resurrection, these words have been fulfilled and proved as true. We are accustomed to believe in the Transvaluation of Values effected by Christianity: and what does this mean but what our Lord called in eschatological language a new heaven and a new earth? When Jesus rose from the dead, then, He did bring us the Kingdom of God, a new heaven and new earth. It was that which enabled St. Paul to cry: 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' It opened out to the early Christian believers, as the Acts of the Apostles so clearly shews, a new and regenerate life, and gave them the law of perfect liberty

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hos. vi. 2.

instead of the law of death. May we not say, then, that in the Resurrection the hopes of the Jews and the promises of Jesus Himself concerning the immediate coming of the Kingdom of Heaven, were as a fact, and have been shewn to have been through centuries of Christian experience, literally and indeed fulfilled?

(e) Fifthly, we must touch upon the question of the extent to which Jesus in His own Person and consciousness fulfilled the Jewish hopes of Messiah. There were many pictures of the Messiah in Jewish literature. There was the anointed Son of God and the Suffering Servant in Isaiah; there was the Judge of quick and dead in Daniel and the Book of Enoch; there was the figure of the Son of Man, divine and terrible, in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch. And all these are seen in the Person of Christ. His Sonship and His Suffering alike have entered into His consciousness by the time that He is baptized, for we are told that 'there came a voice from heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'<sup>1</sup> At the very least, these words must express the inner consciousness which the Lord must have had of Himself and His mission at this time; and the twofold phrase—recalling as it does many a passage from the Psalms and Isaiah—signifies the twofold nature of His Person—His Sonship and His Suffering. And even more clearly is His work of sacrifice set forth in the words: 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.'<sup>2</sup> Equally explicit is the claim of Jesus to judge the world, as when, for instance, He warns Caiaphas that He shall see the Son of Man coming upon the clouds of heaven: a figure which must have carried with it the notion of judgement to one who knew the book of Daniel. But here someone may ask: 'If it be true that for the Jews God's judgement preceded the coming of His Kingdom, and if His Kingdom came at the Resurrection of Christ, in what sense can it be said that the promise of judgement was fulfilled?' The question is a relevant one, and we will try to answer it in the concluding portion of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Mark i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Mark x. 45.

Finally, Jesus claims, surely beyond all dispute, to fulfil the representation of the Son of Man which was set forth in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch. We would not maintain that the title, Son of Man, which Jesus took to Himself, was necessarily taken from Enoch rather than from Daniel; though it is important to notice that the phrase with the definite article—the Son of Man—occurs in Enoch alone. But at least it is hard to deny that in some of the prerogatives which Jesus claims in connexion with His title He seems clearly to look back directly to the Book of Enoch. ‘All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.’<sup>1</sup> Similarly at the end of St. Matthew’s Gospel He claims: ‘All authority hath been given me in heaven and upon earth.’<sup>2</sup> And again: ‘Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven.’<sup>3</sup> And lastly, if it be genuine, ‘Before Abraham was, I am.’<sup>4</sup> In all these passages it seems difficult to avoid the inference that Jesus is claiming to fulfil the picture of the Son of Man, who was also the Pre-existent Son of God, which is given us in the Book of Enoch.

If, then, the Messiah of Jewish eschatological expectation was at hand already, it is clear how Jesus could speak also of the Kingdom of Heaven being present, as well as future. Thus at Nazareth He preaches a sermon on the text: ‘The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, Because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor: He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, To set at liberty them that are bruised, To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord’<sup>5</sup>; and at the close Jesus adds: ‘*To-day* hath this scripture been fulfilled in your ears.’ Moreover still clearer and less ambiguous are His words, ‘The Kingdom of Heaven is among you.’

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 27.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxviii. 18.<sup>3</sup> Matt. x. 32, 33.<sup>4</sup> John viii. 58<sup>5</sup> Luke iv. 18 19, 21



Thus we have endeavoured to shew how in every point the hopes of the devout Jews from the days of the prophets onwards were historically fulfilled in the life of Jesus Christ. They expected Elias to come: Jesus said that he had come in the person of John the Baptist. They expected that the Kingdom would be heralded by a period of affliction: Jesus promised the same. They expected the Judgement when the Kingdom came: so did the Lord, and sealed it true, as we hope to shew directly, on the Cross. They expected a Kingdom to come, when the dead should rise to share in it: Jesus brought their hope to fulfilment by His own Resurrection. They expected a Messiah, who should be prophet and judge and priest and king, the Son of God: the Lord came, claiming as God's Son to preach the message of the Kingdom, to judge all men, to offer Himself as sacrifice, to be anointed King with water and the Holy Spirit, and to die crowned with a crown of thorns.

## V.

As was said above, the concluding portion of this article will be occupied with two considerations chiefly—the bearing of all that has been said upon the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and its relation, on the other hand, to the data of Comparative Religion. Let us take the former question first.

We have just seen that Jesus Christ claimed to be the world's Judge, and promised Caiaphas that he would see the judgement. But did this happen? In one sense, at least, judgement was consummated upon the Cross; and this in two ways. On the one hand, the Messiah was judged and suffered for the sins of the whole world: His life was given, in His own words, as a ransom for many. There could be no more utter separation from God—and it is that which constitutes the sting of divine judgement—than that to which the Lord testified in the words 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' But, on the other hand, the Cross was also the judgement of mankind. 'He came unto His own and His own received Him not,' and in the very act of rejection they stood self-condemned. But if Jesus

was more than mere man—as it is certain that He believed Himself to be—this self-condemnation is true of others besides those who put Jesus to death. The Cross is an eternal fact in this sense, if in no other, that by the completeness of this sacrifice Jesus laid bare and naked the character of God, transcendent in holiness and making unstinting demands upon men. To reject the Cross therefore, and to turn away from the figure upon it, which gave and gives the full and perfect revelation of God, was and is *ipso facto* to separate a man from God ; in which lies the essence of Judgement. So that when Jesus said that Judgement should come before the Kingdom came, He fulfilled His promise in the Cross, which was necessary before He could rise again and establish the Kingdom.

But, if the difficulty about the Judgement be satisfactorily solved, there is another, and even more serious one, which follows. One may very well grant that for those who look at the world and at human life from the standpoint of the Resurrection all things are become new and all values changed ; but surely the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven means and must have meant for Jesus something more than that. When He spoke of the approach of the Kingdom of God, must He not have meant the actual establishment here on earth of a realized system of relations between man and God and his fellowman, such as is portrayed frequently in the parables and in the Sermon on the Mount ? Yet we are still, it seems, nineteen centuries after the Kingdom is said to have come, living lives and enjoying conditions which are not, after all, so very much better than those which preceded Christianity ; or, if better, are at any rate not identical with those which our Lord came to bring. Now there is much strength *prima facie* in this objection ; but a more careful analysis will shew it, we think, not only to be a delusion, but actually to supply suggestions upon the question of the Divinity of Christ. For the objection rests, as it is simply stated, on a failure to distinguish between the potential and the actual for us, and on the failure to abolish the distinction between the potentially and the actually real for God.

We may be disposed to admit, then, that with Christ's conquest over death the Kingdom of God was potentially established, in the sense that men were put in the position and given the power to actualize those relations which constitute the Kingdom. The relations were real and really present ; but in no sense could it be said that mankind does to-day, much less did then, render them actual on earth. For that, centuries of time are necessary. Then, what did Jesus mean by speaking as if the Kingdom of God were to come immediately ? The question is virtually a dilemma. Either Jesus Christ was wrong—so wrong that we may almost call Him a fanatic ; or else He looked at time in a way in which we do not look at it. And this latter alternative seems nearer the truth. For Him it would appear that the distinction between the potential presence and the actual presence of the Kingdom meant little, if so be that it were really present ; and the course of centuries which must pass before the Kingdom would be completely actual was for Him only a very little time. But if this is so, are we not face to face with a unique phenomenon ? For what consciousness, except that of the Omniscient, is the distinction between the potential and the actual irrelevant ? For whom, but for One who lives in the Eternal Now, do centuries appear as moments ? We may recall the words of Pompilia at the close of her speech in *The Ring and the Book*. She is speaking of the meeting she will have with her rescuer, the priest Caponsacchi, in the world beyond the grave, and of the time that must pass till then ; and she says :

So let him wait God's instant men call years.

And, in the same way here, have we not a case of that which was but an ' instant ' for Jesus, even though ' years ' for ourselves ? It would seem, as He spoke the great eschatological words of St. Mark xiii. that He saw as in one glance the whole of time before Him, gathered up into one tremendous moment, and that moment a present one ; and in these circumstances we are almost driven, it would seem, to add to the famous dilemma of old—' Aut Deus

aut homo non bonus'—a second one, where the second term is equally incredible—'Aut Deus aut homo insanus.' So that the study of the Kingdom of God in its eschatological connexion gives us at least a finger-post pointing in the direction of the Deity of Christ.

## VI.

The final point to which we shall call attention in this article is concerned with Comparative Religion. It may be urged, 'All that you have said may be very true; but in what way are the Jewish hopes about the world's future and the fulfilment which Jesus gave them relevant to us to-day? And why are we to suppose that the beliefs which Jesus answered and confirmed had any closer relation to truth than those of other religions? Or have they even a remote echo in the current thought of modern men?' First, as regards other religions. It has been shewn in a recent work entitled *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea*, by Dr. Oesterley, that in some form or other the main features of the Messianic hope—that is, the supernatural person of Messiah and the righteous Kingdom which he comes to establish—are common to a very great number of cults and religions all over the world. It is found in the poets of Greece and Rome, in the tribes of South Africa, Zululand, and South America, among the Eskimo and in the legends of Asiatic peoples, such as the Persians. Thus, independently of, and cutting across, the great type-*differentiae* of religions in the world, we find this modicum of common stuff concerned with eschatology and the coming of a Kingdom; so that, though of course this germ of hope is developed, especially on the ethical side, among the Jews far more highly than among these other peoples, it is impossible to say that the fulfilment which it finds in the historic Jesus of Nazareth is not also relevant—nay, is not relevant, *a fortiori*—to the less complex forms which it assumes in other races and tribes. Thus, in shewing that Jesus fulfilled in Himself the highest eschatological aspirations of His people, we are in the same breath saying that He also fulfilled the highest eschatological aspirations of



many peoples also, from one clime to another; which, besides testifying to the absolute character of Christianity as a religion, gives also a strong motive for missionary enterprise and zeal.

'But granted this,' one will say, 'as a fact of comparative religion, does it concern us now? We are past the days of primitive religions: will a study of the past help us to what we need for the future?' Yet, indeed, is it quite certain that the mind of men to-day has no points of affinity with the mind of the Jew in and before the time of Jesus Christ? The Jew was looking for a Kingdom: are not we? He was looking for one to rule it: are not we? Amid the infinite complexity of modern society, when one man is reputed as good as another, do we not feel more than ever the desire for a centre, around which may radiate all the diverse thoughts and activities of men? Two illustrations may be given from that greatest of all students of human life and politics—the philosopher, Plato. In the *Phaedo*, speaking of the problems of death and life, he says: 'Man should persevere until he has achieved one of two things: either he should discover, or be taught, the truth about them; or, if this is impossible, I would have him take the best and most irrefragable of human theories, and let this be the raft on which he sails through life—not without risk, as I admit, if he cannot find some word of God which will more surely and safely carry him.' What prophetic words! Do they not recall the Psalmist's 'He shall feed me in a green pasture and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort'? It is small wonder that Justin Martyr, in the second century of the Christian era—an age saturated in Platonism—could speak of Plato as the Moses of Attica. And our other illustration is from a Dialogue less well known than the *Phaedo*, but infinitely instructive—namely, the *Politicus*. In this work, Plato tells in a myth how the world was set spinning by God and then allowed to spin back by its own motion. Round and round it whirled, until finally it plunged itself into the abyss of dissimilitude; and at last God put forth His hand and reversed the action of the sphere, thereby reducing things

again to order. When he wrote this, Plato was living in an age not unlike our own. Old sanctions were breaking down; and manifold were the signs of moral dissolution and decay. May we not say to-day that sometimes we too seem to be drifting into the abyss of dissimilitude; that many voices are raised by those who claim ability to cure man's every ill; that 'Lo here' and 'Lo there' is heard on every side? But these are the false Christs of the modern world. We, like the Jews, look forward, seeking a kingdom and a king. The book market is being flooded with schemes of improvement and Utopias—all of them different, but all of them alike in this at least, that they have no clear standard whereby to regulate their aims and aspirations. It is such a standard which Christianity gives to the world now, as it gave it to those Jews of old, who were looking for a kingdom. The Church can tell the world to-day that the King they seek has come, and that He has brought His Kingdom; and the questioner can be pointed to the unshaken testimony of the Synoptic Gospels. 'And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And He said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful. And He said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.'<sup>1</sup> Thus to those who are striving for some better social and moral order in the world, and asking what it shall be, comes the message of Christendom and of Christ, interpreting and fulfilling the highest expectations of to-day.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xxi. 5, 6, 7.

## ART. VI.—GEORGE TYRRELL.

1. *A Much-abused Letter.* By GEORGE TYRRELL. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1906.)
  2. *Through Scylla and Charybdis, or The Old Theology and the New.* By the same. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1907.)
  3. *Medievalism. A Reply to Cardinal Mercier.* By the same. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1908.)
- And other Works and Papers.

THOUGH he died excommunicate, George Tyrrell will live in our memory chiefly as a great Catholic. His affections were set on the Catholic ideal, and on the Roman Catholic Church as 'the closest approximation, so far attained, to the still far-distant ideal of a Catholic religion.' His mind was trained and used from his earliest years in learning and teaching the true meaning of Catholicism. At a time when the defences of tradition were scarcely more fitted for their task than those of the Chinese Empire he saw with clear eyes the natural strength of the position and spent his best years in forging a suitable armoury. For the English-speaking world at least he was the ablest and most persuasive apologist of the Catholic Church.

English Churchmen who have read or heard Tyrrell have much to thank him for—much help in hard questions of faith and thought. But perhaps above all they are grateful to him for starting a new page in their account with Rome. He seemed to open up a new world, soothing old prejudice with a magic touch and revealing unsuspected depths of truth and power in the Roman Church. It was a welcome and fruitful experience thus to be relieved of hard rancours and raised to a level of more generous vision. Nor was it a slight testimony to Tyrrell's power that so many serious thinkers, Anglican and Nonconformist, learnt from him to dream and even to hope that Rome the 'nursing mother of European civilisation' might renew her ancient merits and tend the age now struggling to be born.

## I.

Before proceeding to our main subject it may be well to clear the ground by a few preliminary remarks on the term 'Modernist' which has been practically accepted by the distinguished group of Roman Catholics in Italy, France and England of whom Tyrrell was one of the foremost leaders. The Encyclical *Pascendi*, which bestowed the name, has offered to define its connotation. The Modernists are declared to have a philosophy and a policy of such and such a character. But Tyrrell will not allow this. There is, he says, no Modernist doctrine or school or party or programme. There is only a movement and a method. The Modernist does not profess to have a system with a final answer to all possible problems. Like the Socialist he reserves to himself the right to say 'I do not know,' and like the Socialist 'he knows what is going, better than what is coming.' He 'believes in the historical Catholic community as the living outgrowth of the Apostolic mission,' and he believes in revelation, above all in the Gospel; but he does not venture to anticipate the results of theological and ecclesiastical changes any more than he can venture to tell the fortune of a growing boy. He can indeed see certain directions in which movement is already taking place; but he has no new theology cut and dried. What he *knows* is that, within and without the Church, scholars and thinkers have a new method which 'affects Catholicism from end to end.'

This new method is a manifestation of the spirit of modern science. The essence of modern science is attention to facts: to find in facts the test of truth. This is the way of truthfulness. To be truthful is above all to spare no pains in coming face to face with the naked fact, and to be ready obediently to adjust one's whole mind to it when found. This, of course, is not to say that there is no truth but in knowing facts. Beside facts there is the whole world of interpretations and ideals. You are not bound therefore never to go beyond the facts; only, *if* you go beyond them you are bound to go the way they go. Any philosophy or theology or hypo-



thesis or ideal which leaves the facts behind without first marching with them step by step as far as they go, belongs not to the world of science, but to the world of fancy.

It is in accordance with this spirit that the Modernist accepts the facts about the composition of the Bible so soon as the expert has made them out. It is in antagonism to this spirit that the authorities who condemned Galileo were careless whether the expert had or had not made out the facts of the case. Tyrrell finds that their successors are no better. They pronounce for instance that 'the Church has not grown, but like the Adam of Genesis sprang from the dust, by the *Fiat* of the historical Christ' as an absolute monarchy with Pope and Bishops, rites and dogmas all complete. But this, say the experts, is a fancy picture. The facts are altogether different. Here then, according to Tyrrell, lies the opposition between Mediaevalist and Modernist. The Mediaevalist *prefers* to read Church history as it was read before the science of history had come to be. Skilled research has satisfied the specialists that, for example, the origin of the episcopate was not, as a matter of historical fact, what the Middle Ages thought it to be. But the mediaeval view that the sacerdotal hierarchy was 'divinely' appointed to 'rule' the Christian community lies at the foundation of the present Roman system of authority. The Mediaevalist,<sup>1</sup> therefore, who identifies faith with obedience to the bishops believes that the new facts are fatal to the whole system of authority and crumble to powder the whole foundations of belief. But after all there is more in religion than legalism. After all the Promises were *before* the Law. The Law may have been added to bend the stiff necks whether of Jews or Goths; but even if it 'passes away' there is still the Gospel. Heaven and Earth, God's grace and Christ's Church, will not be all swept out of being by the same broom that guides legalism to the dustbin. The Modernist does not share this terror. Obeying the facts he masters them for Catholic purposes. 'When Christ

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Cardinal Mercier, in his 'Lenten Pastoral,' says that the faith of a Christian is based on the acceptance of the authority of the Catholic episcopate, cf. *Medievalism*, p. 196.

said to His disciples "As the living Father hath sent Me, so send I you" or "He that heareth you heareth Me," He was not deciding "which of them should be the greatest." He was not giving juridical authority to the hierarchy of the Church over the laity.' And, again, 'what Christ founded was not the hierarchic Church but the little body of missionary brethren, which subsequently, under the guidance of Christ's Spirit, organised itself into the Catholic Church . . . He commissioned *all of them* to go and teach all nations. Such a view, far from belittling the dignity of the Church, exalts it and sets its claims on a far firmer basis.' The mediaevalist view cannot survive the discovery of the facts. 'It is a view that will find no new recruits. To anchor the Church to it is to anchor a boat to a whale. The whale sinks and the boat sinks with it. Its historical worth will be as incredible in a few years as that of the story of Eve and the serpent.'

Let us review very briefly some different classes of facts which as they are discovered and verified require a constant re-adjustment in any living theology. The advance of physical science in the last century is notorious. Through practical uses and popular education its methods and results have been brought home to the multitude. In the course of its development, physical science is brought to recognize new facts, and in the light of them to re-adjust its cosmology, so far as that comes within its province. But cosmology, the general account, that is, which men give of the System or Order in which the facts of existence are naturally arranged, enters also into those conceptions, whether in the Bible or in Church decisions or elsewhere, which express the religious view of man and his relations to Nature. The re-adjustments of cosmology to new fact, which are associated for example with the names of Copernicus and Darwin, could not be without influence on the ancient cosmology implied in *Genesis* or *Revelation*. The contrast was glaring, and in the nineteenth century such contrasts led, and indeed they still lead, to a conflict. The conflict is often called a 'Conflict between religion and science': it is really but a conflict between a scientific cosmology and a pre-scientific cosmology

which, though involved in the ancient and classical expressions of religion, is no part of religion itself. The Papal Encyclical by explicitly binding theology to the scholastic cosmology accentuates and perpetuates this conflict. But, apart from such mistaken guides as the authors of the Encyclical, thoughtful men are agreed, on both sides, that religion in its classical expression could not but use the pre-scientific cosmology of the ancient world, and theology may now allow for the necessary re-adjustment. There has been a period of confusion in these matters for many religious minds, a period of intelligible but unnecessary disturbance, but by the help of such teachers as Tyrrell the way out of confusion has at least been clearly indicated.

But the advance of historical science, no less distinctive of the nineteenth century than the advance of physical science, has not been so widely apprehended nor so readily assimilated. Especially in the study of the Bible and of Church history, the facts already ascertained, not being so palpable nor so materially useful as those of physical science, have attracted less public attention. They are known to many only by hearsay, and are loosely and partially interpreted in favour of this or that preconceived interest. When the facts of historical criticism, not only of the Old but also of the New Testament, not only of mediaeval but also of early Church history, come to be realized, they will naturally demand some measure of re-adjustment in theological and ecclesiastical theory, though not at all in the essence of religion. This re-adjustment of theology, a science which becomes futile the moment it ignores the established thought-forms of the age, may bring a further period of confusion. The Modernist is essentially one who works to forestall this confusion. He believes that the *Ecclesia docens* must always be also *Ecclesia discens*; that is, it must face the new facts, prepare the re-adjustment betimes, and thus reduce the chances of harm being done to practical religion. Let us take a minor example which touches Roman Catholics more than Anglicans. The Papal *Syllabus* of July 1907<sup>1</sup> denounces as an error the proposition

<sup>1</sup> Translation in the *Tablet*, Saturday, July 21, 1907.

(48) that ' James in his Epistle did not intend to promulgate a Sacrament of Christ, but to commend a pious custom, and if in this custom he happens to distinguish a means of grace it was not in that vigorous manner in which it was received by the theologians who laid down the notion and number of the sacraments.' Here is a point as clear as daylight. The authors of the *Syllabus* condemn a statement of historical fact authorized by the experts, because it might require a re-adjustment. But facts are strong, and if the sacrament of unction depends (which, of course, it need not do) on a particular exegesis which is untrue, then the ascertainment of this historical untruth will bring confusion ; for Roman Catholics are taught to hold the grace of the sacrament as a ' rigorous ' inference from the text. The Modernist will support the use of the sacrament by a re-adjustment, giving up the false basis in the text, and arguing that it was a later but legitimate ' development.' He ensures the preservation of religious values by relieving them of false arguments, and by finding better. ' My preoccupation,' Tyrrell writes, ' has been almost exclusively with traditional dogmatic teaching and with the problem of reconciling it, on the one hand, with the exigencies of the inward life ; and on the other, with the recent results of critical Church history.'<sup>1</sup>

There is another development of science, that of psychology, and especially of religious psychology, which has come in with the new century and which may well be as characteristic of this century as physical science was of the last. The psychology of religion deals with the facts of religious experience from a particular point of view. It will probably bring little confusion, for the essential facts of religious life do not vary from age to age so much as the thoughts and institutions in which they are embodied. ' What do not grow in man,' says Tyrrell, ' are the elementary passions and emotions, the spiritual driving forces that set his mind and hands to work. It is to these that the Gospel appeals by the ideal which took flesh and lived in the personality of Jesus Christ.' The psychology of the emotions has hardly yet begun, but when it has come to some definite conclusions

<sup>1</sup> *Medievalism*, p. 107.



we may fairly expect that these conclusions will lay stress upon the enduring character of the religious emotions, and of the ideals by which they are moved. It will surely be a gain for the apologist that the science of religious psychology should receive the fullest recognition. If that follows, then the facts of religious experience will stand on a firmer critical basis. They will have the privilege of saluting all other facts on equal terms. They will have—however they are at first interpreted—the *entrée* to scientific society. To a religious man such a *cachet* may seem but a slight addition to the lustre of spiritual truth: to the apologist it is half the battle.

Some such attitude as this belongs to the outlook of the Modernist. He is hopeful of science, just because his faith is firmly based. The bulwarks of Sion cannot be established except by that 'deeper faith which,' as Tyrrell declares, 'is not frightened but stimulated by the assured results of modern science.' Indeed the Modernist holds that theology has much to learn from the methods of science—severe fidelity to fact, reverence for fact, a readiness to be purged of untruthfulness at whatever cost, courage to look difficulties in the face, modesty and patience towards objective realities. The 'surrender of the intellect,' which is declared by scholastics to be the fundamental Catholic virtue, remains a Catholic virtue; but it is no longer in the last resort a surrender to human authority. Human authority has its rights: it also has its limits. It is limited by and responsible to the superior authority of the truth, and the truth speaks to man most clearly from the holy See which God has set up for it in each individual fact. Modernism is as manifold and elusive in its forms as 'mysticism' or 'socialism.' It would be absurd to offer to define it; but Tyrrell would perhaps have chosen Truth to Fact as its most characteristic ideal.

## II.

Father Tyrrell was a born leader of the peculiar type that the Irish race occasionally produces. He was naturally

endowed with brilliant gifts, with tenacious courage, and with a deep and ready sympathy. Together with these expansive qualities he had others which kept them in order. He had a remarkable measure of modesty and of the anxious desire for reality which leads to self-criticism. This union of confidence and diffidence shewed itself in various ways, both in his life and work. For instance, he was ready to go anywhere to give help and instruction. He knew that he had much to give. But at the same time he shrank from applause. It seemed as though his spirit sallied out gladly to lead, but yet checked itself continually. With a great and sympathetic power over others he united far more than many of his compatriots a strong control over the secret love of popular approval. We have seen him address a large audience of students and then, amid a tumult of acclamation, sit gathered up into a lifeless heap as if careless of his surroundings. Only, as he left the building, he was heard to murmur 'It was *electric*.' In the tribute printed in the *Guardian*<sup>1</sup> we read of his genius for friendship and of his power of attracting individuals. He had the humanity of the true priest—strength and sympathy. 'He became—it was none of his seeking—a universal referee . . . from every quarter of the globe troubled Roman Catholics had recourse to him in person and by letter.' It may not have been his own deliberate seeking, and indeed Tyrrell himself wrote: 'I had sooner have a white elephant than a disciple or a penitent or a convert'; but the very irony of this utterance reveals his secret. He loved fellowship, as he loved the Sacraments which consecrate it; but the more he loved it the more he loathed the snare of popularity. The severity of his self-discipline rose to 'absolute unworldliness.' 'Not only on its material side, but in its subtler forms—literary reputation and personal influence—he "let the world go by." His intellectual modesty was at times almost provoking: he seemed unconscious of the distinction of his work.' His 'unworldliness' indeed was tried by the last and most dreadful test. Deprived by excommunication of the fellowship his soul so dearly loved, he might have found

<sup>1</sup> July 21, 1909.

an eager admiring welcome in another Church than that of his choice. But to the end he denied himself, lest he should cause his brethren to stumble.

Again, in his life the two movements of expansion and constriction, though so remarkably balanced as a rule, were subject, as with all Irishmen, to a certain alternation. In *Scylla and Charybdis* we feel strongly the contagion of a confidence which broke out into a thousand light touches and loosed the reins of his incomparable humour. But in *Medievalism* there are signs of disturbance, as though his sensitive spirit was troubled and he was harder to himself, harder to others. He had not the massive patience and deeply organized equilibrium of his master in theology. But in his main attitude towards Catholicism the two movements of confidence and restraint were admirably combined. His whole soul went forth in enthusiasm for the Catholic Church. 'The very word "Catholic" is music to my ears.' Yet no one kept a more jealous eye on the defects of the Church or confessed them with more ruthless honesty. On the one hand he was boldly and buoyantly constructive. On the other he was scrupulously critical. That is the distinguishing mark of his whole theology and the source of his power to appeal to the modern world. The modern world longs for a constructive ideal; but, like Iago, it is nothing if not critical. Tyrrell was great enough to see both sides and, holding them together, at once to build on a large scale and to test his materials lest he should build in vain.

He was born in 1861. For the facts of his early life we are chiefly indebted, beyond the references in *Medievalism*, to notices contributed to the Press by the Rev. C. E. Osborne, his schoolfellow at Rathmines and his lifelong friend. Neither Tyrrell nor Osborne nor Dolling had a nature capable of finding permanent satisfaction in the rather arid atmosphere of Dublin Protestantism in that period. They were all spiritual adventurers seeking a larger air. The defiant creed of the Irish minority lacked the grace of more Catholic outlines. It could not even lay claim to the comprehensiveness of a 'national' Church. The Whately

school of teaching at Trinity College was no doubt in Tyrrell's mind when in later years he wrote of the 'dry-as-dust hard scholastic rationalism of the old-fashioned Anglican theology.' The Oxford Movement had made little headway in a city which was always on guard against the enveloping pressure of Roman Catholicism. But in one of the few 'Tractarian' churches of Dublin, and in its incumbent (Dr. Maturin), Dolling and Tyrrell found more what they wanted. His close friendship with Father Dolling at this time, and later on in London, doubtless helped Tyrrell to develop his strong democratic sentiment for 'the Millions,' and to deepen his central conviction that, like the Sabbath, the Church is for man and not man for the Church. It has been well said that both Tyrrell and Dolling had, in their different ways, a certain 'European' breadth of view. Both rode easily on the waves with a humorous contempt for the shoals of local and sectarian strife. Just as Dolling had the more than 'royal' gift for remembering the features of many diverse souls and greeting them all with a large charity, so Tyrrell moved familiarly among the diverse currents of modern thought, and could tolerate because he understood. At the age of nineteen he left his own Church and joined the Roman Catholic. Why he should go and Dolling stay is an interesting question, and the answer we imagine is to be found in the more restless intellect of Tyrrell. He writes in *Medievalism* :

'Till the age of fifteen, I took as little interest in religious questions as any other healthy-minded schoolboy. It was from a very crude study of Bishop Butler's *Analogy* that I woke to a dim sense of there being a great and pressing world-problem to be solved for myself and for others, either positively or negatively. The same reasons that made me hope for the positive solution made me also hope that the most widespread and ancient form of Christianity might after all be found in possession of that solution. Having no adequate idea of the essential principles and differences of Protestantism and Catholicism . . . it is not wonderful that at the mature age of eighteen I was ready for the step that cost a scholar like Newman half a lifetime of consideration. Not one of the reasons on which I acted do I now



acknowledge as of the slightest validity. They were those of the ordinary anti-Protestant apologetic of our proselytisers.'

We feel here a touch of that bitterness and negative self-feeling which was noticed above as characteristic of *Medievalism*. The balance, however, is corrected by the early part of the quotation. It was not indeed the so-called 'reasons' ('tricks' he goes on to call them) of the proselytizers, but a reasonable 'hope,' stirred by his study of Butler, that carried him forward. The great Bishop had given him one of the few but valuable impressions which the *Analogy* is capable of giving, that there is a 'great world-problem,' that small solutions are futile, that *if* Christianity is indeed the solution then it must be a great Christianity. It was, then, on eager young eyes straining for a 'great' solution that the Catholic idea dawned with irresistible charm. 'There was present,' he writes, 'in my boyhood the desire to make religion a living truth for living minds.' 'My faith in the Church is part of my faith in humanity.' But though Dolling and Tyrrell were at one in this love for humanity, they were not equally capable of being stirred by the *Analogy*. The intellectual idealism which made Tyrrell dissatisfied with the limitations of Dublin drove him to what seemed the logical result, and, when he became a Roman Catholic, pushed the result to its extreme conclusion: he became a Jesuit.

With his Jesuit career we cannot deal owing to lack of knowledge. Mr. Osborne, who knew him in this period, writes as follows:

'Tyrrell, as years went on, reminded one more and more of what one reads of Erasmus—his wit, his rare capacity for friendship, his urbanity united with moral earnestness, his deep sense of the supremacy of reason and the conscience amid the various powers of our complex being, and at the same time his recognition of art and culture and science as having each their due place in the ordered hierarchy of the powers of life.'

Tyrrell himself considered that we should 'go back behind Trent and pick up the path of Erasmus.' But it may be suggested that, at least in *Medievalism*, Tyrrell

reveals more of the moral quality of Colet than of Erasmus. Erasmus was hardly of the mould to push moral conflict to its conclusions, or to suffer over-much for conscience' sake.

As a scholar, Tyrrell was in this period '*facile princeps*, the most brilliant of the Jesuits, and in time he reached the position of being a master of the scholastic philosophy, a Thomist of European repute.' In reply to a taunt that he gave no attention to dogma he replies that in dogmatic theology he has 'nothing to learn from Rome or Louvain.' But though for long years he 'rummaged patiently for the Holy Grail among the dust-heaps of scholasticism,' it was Newman who was continually drawing him. The influence of Newman played a great part in his conversion, and it is clear from his books that it was Newman above all whose teaching released him from bondage. Though the master, who at heart was to the end, like all the Tractarians save Dean Church, an unbending traditionalist, would have recoiled in horror from Tyrrell's conclusions, yet the disciple, in cultivating the seedlings which he found in the *Grammar of Assent* and the *Essay on Development*, proved the master to be more 'Modernist' than he knew. Newman's appeal to the whole personality rather than to the intellect as the organ of religious knowledge, and Newman's application of the idea of development to the history of the Church, contain in principle the two chief doctrines of his successor. Tyrrell's most considerable work *Through Scylla and Charybdis* is mainly occupied with working out the distinction between revelation and theology and with subordinating the theology of the intellect to personal experience. The last chapter of that book, to our mind his most finished piece of work, and almost the whole of *Medievalism*, his later book, are occupied with proving the organic and developing nature of the Church and its authority.

### III.

In studying Tyrrell's development, we must not expect to find a complete system of theology. His own course of

thought was largely determined by the needs of those who appealed to him for help. He was above all a teacher of thoughtful minds, and his teaching was essentially an apologetic. As a convinced Catholic he believed that the Church was God's appointed home for men. As an honest thinker he clearly saw the difficulties of Churchmanship for men who could not bend their minds beneath the yoke of current Church teaching. They came to him for help, and as each difficulty was put, he strove, for their sake and his own, to get round it. The difficulties he met are not confined to the Roman Church. They are common to all Churches. During the last year of his life Tyrrell was much drawn towards the Church of England. If he had joined us, what would he have found? Freedom from obscurantism in pulpit, press, and council? Clear solutions of his two great problems 'What is revelation,' and 'What is Church authority'? Absence of legalism—Mediaevalist, Protestant and Erastian? Superiority to shibboleths, a text, an article, an Act of Parliament, a point of ritual, a dogmatic symbol, the catchwords of the third, or fourth, or sixth century, or of that line across Church history, mythical as the 'line' of the Equator, which is called the 'Undivided Church'? We trow not.

If the difficulties he had to face are more acute for Roman Catholics, that cannot altogether be ascribed to the fault of the Roman Church. They are present in stronger or milder form in all religious communions which are organized on a basis of authority and seek their charter in history or the Bible. The firmer knit the organization, the more pressing become the problems. The Roman Church, as the most highly organized of all, is most acutely conscious of the strain. But it is certain that if Tyrrell had joined the Church of England he would have found that the disease he had been fighting in the Roman Church is working no less among ourselves, though partly suppressed through convention, partly latent through inertia. Let us ask some young English doctor how far he considers our current teaching to meet the current difficulties. . . . The present writer may be forgiven for quoting from a paper

read at a Conference of Theological Teachers touching the need for educational reform among the clergy.

‘Do we recognize that the need is so urgent that the future of the Church of England in the next century depends on our supplying that need? I venture to say that the majority of educated Londoners despair of the Church as a teaching institution. Year by year we lose, for example, the interest of nearly all the abler Oxford and Cambridge men who come up to town. Our lack of education and of power to teach in accordance with modern knowledge no longer makes men agnostic. They are now sure that they can be religious without being Churchmen. They long for religious brotherhood, but they say that they cannot be active members of the Church because they know they would be regarded as heretics by the clergy. They do not become atheist or agnostic, but they become indifferent to the Church of their fathers, often sad and lonely, and sometimes scornful and indignant. No greater blessing could befall the Church than to recover such men. There are hundreds and thousands of them—civil servants, doctors, lawyers, artists, journalists, social workers—here in London. Large numbers of them could be won, and if won they would be of splendid service.’

We do not apologize for dwelling on this topic. It is essential to the matter in hand. Only to a quickened sense of the need can the significance of Tyrrell’s life-work be brought home.

To resume: the significance of Tyrrell’s work lies in his attention to individuals. He was not in theology what Herbert Spencer was in science. He was more like a consulting neurologist. He had not time for the congenial work of planning a great system. He was busy in soothing the living nerve of faith, and relieving it from strain and irritation.

‘Such medicine as I have, and I hope it is no quackery, is a kind of panacea . . . one which cannot do harm and which within my narrow experience has rarely failed to do good. It consists in removing the yoke which galls, so as to give the sore place a chance of healing. It assumes that if a man is absolutely and practically sincere to whatever little measure



of religious and moral truth he still holds, he is bound to advance to whatever fuller measure of truth may be necessary for him. It assumes that nothing short of conscious and deliberate wickedness of some kind or other can separate a man from communion with Christ and His Church. It declines to admit the existence of any such wickedness in those whose whole trouble is due solely to their anxiety to think, say, and do what is right. It has no sympathy with indifferentism ; for it regards a desire to possess the truth as the very test and proof of sincerity ; yet while it holds the desire of truth to be essential, it allows that the possession may be often dispensable. In short, it consists in finding out what a man does believe, and building on that ; in fostering the sound and healthy parts of his soul instead of physicking the unhealthy—nay, in cutting these off, as far as may be, by diverting from them that nervous attention which can only irritate and spread inflammation through the whole system.’<sup>1</sup>

Here we see the doctor of souls at work. His panacea is to relieve the patient from the galling rigours of a cast-iron theology and liberate the elements of religious life. Fresh air for the mind, a simple spiritual diet and the natural exercise of faith—such was his stock prescription. ‘The Gospel is Power and not Knowledge. Strength is what men lack and not light : “To wish is present with me ; but to perform I find not. Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me ? ” —that is the problem which Christ came to solve, and which the Church has authority to deal with in His name.’<sup>2</sup> Again, ‘The revelation which He committed to them was that of the Father’s divine life as faithfully imaged in His own life, and to be as faithfully imaged in that of His Church. It was the “truth” of a type to its archetype ; the “truth” of a Way and a Life, not of a theory or a theology.’<sup>3</sup> And again, ‘Let us face facts. The Way, and the Life, and the Truth have been made plain to the simplest from the very beginning. The truths by which our souls live and are sanctified are few and are clear to all. About further points theological uncertainty is not of the slightest direct spiritual consequence for the individual : it may often be more wholesome

<sup>1</sup> *A Much-abused Letter*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Medievalism*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 64.

than certainty.' Any one who has had experience in dealing with persons in 'theological trouble' will know the vast relief which such counsels from such a man must have brought.

In a word, by personal experience Tyrrell grew convinced that unless we 'would quickly weed out of the Church thousands of her most intelligently devoted children, than whom none have a better right to her sacraments and ministrations,' the Church must distinguish between personal faith and the scholastic assent; between revelation and theology. That distinction is developed in a succession of essays collected in *Scylla and Charybdis*. Side by side with the foregoing, Tyrrell's second great principle, the immanent and organic nature of Authority, was gradually refined. This, too, had its application to individuals. For a time (about 1895 to 1905) he appears to have thrown out numerous essays on these and kindred principles, just as a busy physician might send experimental 'studies' to the *Lancet*. In 1899 he had turned a corner. Hitherto he had 'accepted the more rigid scholastic view of the "Deposit of Faith" as being "Chapter the First" of Catholic theology written by an inspired pen, and had sought to evade the obvious difficulties of that supposition by a liberal use of the theory of doctrinal development.' But now he was 'forced to consider whether the "Deposit of Faith" should be viewed as essentially a "form of sound words," and not rather as a Spirit, or a Principle, or an Idea.' Hitherto, that is, he had tried, following tradition, to accept the original documents of Christianity as giving truth of the theological and scientific order, and, following Newman, to shew how the very surprising differences between the teaching of the Gospel and the theology of Trent were due to a legitimate 'development.' Now he gives up the letter for the spirit. He sees, for example, the necessity of stating plainly that modern medicine cannot be bound for ever to the Synoptic demonology, and that this freedom in no way implies disbelief in the miracles of healing. By 1904 he is prepared publicly to state the great 'dilemma' raised by the conception of the Deposit of Faith as a 'body of theological doctrines and

statements from which other statement might be deduced syllogistically. Either the whole process of theological and scientific development is held down to the categories of that statement and practically paralysed ; or the patristic and traditional notion of the Deposit as a " form of sound words " must be abandoned altogether in favour of the notion that it is a Spirit, or Idea, or a perpetuated experience to be expressed by each generation in its own way, but having no sacred or classical form of expression.' <sup>1</sup> Such is the broad alternative at the refinement of which Tyrrell laboured to the end of his life. On the whole, his last view, which he would have jealously refused to call a ' final ' view, inclined to a more conservative treatment of the ' form of sound words.' Though, he says, neither the letter of Scripture nor the letter of dogmatic decisions of the Church is to be taken as a storehouse of general propositions from which theologians may directly build their logical systems, yet the actual language of those who were inspired by the person of Christ has eternal value, and the dogmatic decisions of the Church have a ' protective ' value which is permanent. The language of the New Testament involves many ideas, philosophical, political, scientific, of a stage of civilization which is now long past ; but, though these ideas (the setting of revelation) are not authoritative for the science of our day, yet as the necessary original envelope of revealed truth they remain its classic form, and, when read spiritually, they remain the heart-language of religion for all time. Similarly the dogmatic decisions of councils enshrine categories of thought which belong to their respective strata of culture : they are not to be used directly for theology as if they were a kind of inspired and absolute definitions ; but they retain permanently their true value—the value of reasserting the religious truth once revealed.

Before leaving this subject let us follow briefly what is, perhaps, Tyrrell's last published statement of a ' very tentative position,' <sup>2</sup> dated in 1907. The question whether the use of certain thought-forms in the expression of revelation, either in Scripture or in the dogmatic decisions of the

<sup>1</sup> *Scylla and Charybdis*, p. 106.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 321 sq.

Church, lends a divine authority to the systems—Jewish or Hellenic—from which they were borrowed, if answered in the *affirmative* binds Science and Theology to the past, forbids their indispensable development, and reduces them to the position, not of handmaids, but of slaves to revealed truth. If answered in the *negative* there is danger of theology becoming 'liberal' in the bad sense, that is, of refusing that deference to the formulations of the past which is a mark of the true 'traditionalism.' In order to unite the necessary freedom with the necessary reverence Tyrrell proposed, as we have seen, to make a distinction between the prophetic oracular or supernatural value of the original utterances, and their philosophic, scientific or natural values; the latter being ministerial to the former, but not limiting the freedom of mental development. This, he claims, is a reaction towards the teaching of the Fathers, and a renunciation of the recent semi-scholastic theory which treats revelation as itself a theology, and therefore capable of 'development.' For if the New Testament age had but the germs of Christian truth, which were afterwards to be 'developed' by dogmatic decisions, then that great age was worse off than we are in amount of revelation! The truth is that revelation, the divinely given experience, does not develop—it is perpetuated by grace; but we have not more than the Apostles had. What does develop in man is his understanding, and its results in theology change and grow from age to age, expressing in ever new thought-forms the enduring realities of religious experience. It is a confusion when the two 'fountains of religious truth,' reason and revelation, with their two corresponding styles of utterance—the prophetic and the scientific—are rashly identified. Revelation does not grow. 'I assume, with the Fathers, that the revelation given through Christ and His Apostles contained all that was needful for the fullest life of Faith, Hope, and Charity.' The normative or classical period of Christian inspiration closed with the death of the Apostles. 'Not that revelation, which is in some degree a privilege given to every living soul, ceased abruptly; but that all such subsequent revelations need to be tested and tried by



their agreement in spirit with normative apostolic revelation. Their relation to it is that of the work of the disciples of a school of painting to the work of its founder and master.' Revelation is not the work of the understanding, nor does it develop from lower to higher as theology does, which is the work of the understanding. Revelation is the 'inspired, spontaneous, and natural self-expression of the Divine Spirit in man.' The Apostolic revelation is the inspired creation of that Spirit, a prophetic vision: not a theological synthesis within the apprehension of a cultured few, but an imaginative presentment within the apprehension of all.

Once more let us pick up the thread. From 1900 to 1905 seems to have been an expansive period in Tyrrell's life. Confident in the power of his teaching to meet the needs of individuals he seems to have sought a larger public. In the nineties, to judge from certain articles in the *Faith of the Millions*, he wrote with more reserve, keeping mostly within the conditions of formal loyalty to the Ultramontane system. At this period he was an apologist of the Roman Catholic Church. But with the turn of the century he became rather an apologist of Catholicism, speaking not only to the world in favour of his own communion, but also to his own communion in favour of the hitherto unrealized fulness and depth of the Catholic ideal. To judge from his writings he was inspired by hope. Thought and work were delightful, promising reward. Books on the newer psychology deepened his sense of the naturalness of faith, of the justice of dethroning the scholastic intellect from its repressive supremacy, and of the wisdom of the Catholic appeal to the collective conscience. Books on comparative religion, even in revealing the elements of 'Pagan' or 'natural' belief embedded in Catholic custom, suggested to him the wide humanity of the historic faith. Books on mysticism led him to realize more deeply the central importance of religious experience. The clearer distinction between absolute and relative knowledge, between philosophical and symbolical terminology, encouraged him to rescue Scripture from the rude prosaic hands of the 'absolute' dogmatists.

The fresh revolt against Hegel and all his works, which is summed up as 'Pragmatism,' came to aid his rising determination to revolt against Scholasticism. On all sides, as the new thoughts came pouring in, they seemed to come with hands full of blessing for his great ambition. Great and ever greater as the conflict rose between the whole world of modern thinking and the conventional Catholic philosophy, so high and ever higher mounted his confidence that by justifying the Church on 'modern' principles he might prove Catholicism to be best of all. For a true and purified Catholicism there was hope. The Church might yet prevail. The old and the new might be reconciled. There might be room in the Catholic synthesis for individualism and socialism, for religion and science, for authority and freedom; for reverence for the past, manifold life in the present, and world-wide hope for the future. The thing might be!

Thoughts such as these come to mind as one reads the earlier essays in *Scylla*; but in January 1905 the fair ship drove upon the rocks. Tyrrell was expelled from the Jesuit Society. Hitherto his superiors, knowing his value, had ridden with an easy rein. Tyrrell was not unmindful of this. To the General of the Order he wrote after his expulsion: 'Nothing could be further from my sentiments than any kind of personal rancour or resentment. This is a collision of systems and tendencies rather than of persons.' But on the unauthorized publication in an Italian newspaper of part of a private letter of Tyrrell's, the party at Rome, which was already moving heaven and earth to engineer a counterblast to the spread of more liberal thought, were able to score a victory. The passages from the letter which were published, though certainly more sensational than the main bulk, contained little or nothing which Tyrrell could honestly withdraw. 'Eminent dignitaries' had been 'scandalized.' It was necessary, and not unnaturally so, that the author should no longer represent the Jesuits.

This whole incident revealed in a flash the delicate and even the ambiguous position in which Tyrrell had been for

some years. He was always the first to admit that his formal position was equivocal. But his deliberate resolve was to go forward until the way was blocked. It must have been about this time, or perhaps earlier, that through the kindness of the Rev. A. L. Lilley a few Anglicans were allowed to see a paper by Tyrrell entitled *Beati Excommunicati*. In this short tract he laid down the policy of a loyal and whole-hearted reformer. If memory serves it ran somewhat thus: 'If we are denied communion, we shall none the less go to Mass; if we are forbidden to enter the Church, we shall stand at the door; if we are driven from the door, we shall go to the window; if even that audience is not permitted, we shall go home and read our Mass in the hour of service. Everything that can be done to prove our loyalty to the Organized Church that we shall do, omitting no detail of outward reverence; but meanwhile we shall speak and write with freedom.'<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to remember the enthusiasm with which a group of Anglicans heard of the character and policy of such men at a period when the name of 'Modernist' was not yet coined. They seemed to reveal a new world, where reverence and freedom met as sisters, and the presage of suffering gave dignity to effort. Here were masters handling the problems which troubled so many of us, and they were ready to stake all for the truth. Here was a Roman Catholicism so great and winning that the echoes of old prejudice died clean away.

Beyond publishing in correct form the *Much-abused Letter*, which an Italian pirate had already translated for the columns of his journal, Tyrrell put forth little in 1906. But 1907 was an eventful year. Not only was it the year of *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, which first shewed to the world the fruitful and yet tentative course of Tyrrell's development; it was also the year of the new *Syllabus*, with its formal pronouncement against sixty-five theological errors, many of them doubtless attributed to Tyrrell. It was, further, the year of climax, for the *Syllabus* in July was followed by the Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, which at once provided the new movement with advertise-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Pope's words *infra*, p. 142.

ment and a name, and by the manner of its censure and its methods of repression evoked an amount of active sympathy for the 'Modernists' which otherwise they could hardly have expected. This was, indeed, for Tyrrell the climax. The burdens which the fathers at Rome had been accumulating on the necks of thoughtful Catholics became too heavy to be borne without protest. Already the veteran scholar, Baron von Hügel, had published in conjunction with Professor Briggs, a wise and dignified protest against the finding of the Biblical Commission <sup>1</sup> in 1906, which outraged the whole world of Biblical scholarship. Already Tyrrell and von Hügel, Fogazzaro (the author of *Il Santo*) and Murri (the Christian democrat, excommunicated 1909) had been censured by the Congregation of the Index (May 1907). The Curia was plainly at the mercy of the reactionaries. The burden and disappointment became too great. In the *Times* of September 30 and October 1, 1907, Tyrrell burst forth into vehement protest. It was more than protest: it was open defiance—a defiance almost reckless in its cold heat of reasoned indignation. We have not space to describe these articles, which should be read not only as specimens of a scholar's invective but also as his direct challenge to the authors of the Encyclical. So public and unreserved a challenge could not be allowed to remain unanswered by the party in control of the Vatican policy. Tyrrell was excommunicated; not, indeed, in the major form which Dom Murri has since incurred, but in a form which made him an alien from the community which he had spent his life in serving.

The following extract from the articles to the *Times* summarizes the Modernist attitude at this critical moment:

'No so-called modernist, who understands the logic of his own position, who is proud of his spiritual ancestry, who realizes that union with the Church depends on inward reality more than on outward form, will be moved from his Catholicism by any act of juridical violence of which he may be the object.

<sup>1</sup> It affirmed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in the most extreme terms. Cf. *The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch*, by C. A. Briggs and Fr. von Hügel (Longmans)



His faith is not something that can be annihilated in a moment by the word of an angry Bishop. Much as he may prize the sacramental bread of life, he prizes still more the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. To secede would be to allow that his calumniators were in the right ; that Catholicism was bound hand and foot to its scholastic interpretation and to its medieval Church polity ; that the Pope had no duties and the people no rights. It would be to abandon what he believes to be the truth, at the moment of its greatest betrayal. What he will most deeply regret is the loss of one of the Church's greatest opportunities of proving herself the saviour of the nations. Rarely in her history had the eyes of all been waiting upon her more expectantly, in the hope that she might have bread for the starving millions, for those who are troubled by that vague hunger for God on which the *Encyclical* pours such scorn. Protestantism in its best thinkers and representatives had grown dissatisfied with its rude antithesis to Catholicism and was beginning to wonder whether Rome too had not grown dissatisfied with her rigid medievalism. The modernist movement had quickened a thousand dim dreams of reunion into enthusiastic hopes. When lo ! Pius X. comes forward with a stone in one hand and a scorpion in the other.'

#### IV.

The point of irreconcilable antagonism between Tyrrell and the Vatican was the point of Authority. It will be remembered that at the time of the Mivart case Father Clarke, S.J., the ablest apologist of Ultramontanism, wrote with admirable lucidity to the *Nineteenth Century* to explain that a Catholic is one who surrenders his intellect to authority. Mivart might have been zealous and excellent in this way or that, but his recent publications shewed that he had never made the critical act of absolute surrender. Ergo, he had never been a Catholic at all ! The Risen Christ had in the Forty Days delivered to His Apostles a set of ecclesiastical and theological propositions. Presently, by the dispensation of Providence, these propositions had been translated into the unchanging tongue. Enshrined in Latin the Deposit had been kept identically the same

and was imposed as a whole, on pain of heresy, by the legal successors of the Apostles from that day to this.

It is not so much this or that detail in the Deposit, the identity of which has in these latter days been rigorously insisted on. The veil of history has been raised, and certain adjustments have been absolutely compelled; but the legal succession from the Apostles, and the virtual concentration of that succession upon one Bishop, has at last been revealed as the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiae*. The 'dignity of the hierarchy' is, as we may read either in the Encyclical or in Cardinal Mercier's Pastoral, the one thing needful. The whole duty of Bishops is to obey the Pope: that we have learnt in France. The whole duty of priests is to obey the delegates of the Pope. The whole duty of laymen is to obey (and to pay). Such is the scheme of Authority reasserted in the Encyclical, to surrender the intellect to which is the essence of faith.

Against this construction of Authority Tyrrell was 'out' on foray. To him the Church, the collective mind, the home of the Spirit, was the 'base of the pyramid.' The absolutist doctrine of Papal authority simply turned the Church upside down and poised the whole on its apex. He claims that the great Döllinger, and the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the whole Conciliar Theory of Church History are right, and the extreme advocates of the *Vaticanum* harmfully, fatally wrong. Tyrrell's doctrine of Authority may be read in its clearest expression in the last chapter of *Scylla and Charybdis*. The whole of *Medievalism* (1908) is an expansion and reinforcement of this chapter. But it is in the *Much-abused Letter* (published in 1906) that we see his doctrine working itself out. The *Letter* was written privately to a scientific professor in an Italian university who, by a reverse kind of sudden conversion, awoke one day in astonishment that such a heretic as he should pretend to be a Catholic. A terrible cumulative argument flashed upon him from all sides at once. His whole mentality, honestly and laboriously cultivated by modern methods, was utterly alien from the scholastic system imposed by Catholic authority. Either the Catholic authorities were

living in a balloon and he on earth, or he was in the balloon, and with him the whole army of science and philosophy of the last three hundred years.

He was referred to Tyrrell, who accordingly set himself to answer the question, How can an honest man believe in science and be a Catholic? Tyrrell's first answer is to relieve the strain. He throws over the theologians. They are 'not to be taken too seriously.' Theology is necessary, as he says elsewhere, and a religion without a theology is like a man without a brain. But theology is stagnant (he refers, of course, only to the official mediaeval Scholasticism) and in need of fresh waters. A scientific professor is one of the few who can hope to stir the pool. He must not simply give up, and let the vested class-interest of the Schoolmen have the Church at its mercy. 'Every educated layman ought to be interested in theology and competent to criticise its bearings on knowledge in general,' and especially on his special subject, if he has one. Revelation is not theology, nor is Gospel freedom a system of authority.

What then is Authority, and the Catholic Church? We have not space to dwell on the admirable religious counsels given in this letter. We can only notice that Tyrrell, seeking to be all things to all men if only he may win some, makes use to a professor of science of the much-talked-of discovery of the 'sub-conscious': Catholicism he holds to be primarily a life, and the Church a spiritual organism in whose life we participate. Like the individual the Church gives a conscious account of itself, but never fully understands itself. As in the individual, so in the Church, the brain and tongue are not so reliable as the heart; and the 'self-conscious, self-formulating Catholicism of the thinking, talking and governing minority' is but as 'the emergent point of a submerged mountain whose roots broaden out till they are merged with the bulk of the entire earth.' Analogously to the distinction of conscious and sub-conscious in the individual, so 'a man might have great faith in the Church, in the people of God, in the unformulated ideas, sentiments and tendencies at work in the great body of the faithful and constituting the Christian and Catholic

"Spirit," and yet regard the Church's consciously formulated ideas and intentions about herself as more or less untrue to her deepest nature ; that he might refuse to believe her own account of herself as against his instinctive conviction of her true character.' Tyrrell would not be slow to admit that this distinction may go too far, and that in any case it is not an exact analogy. But it serves ; and unless the real truth which it implies may be used as a refuge there are few men honest and learned like the Italian professor who can justify their title to be Catholics.

In the last chapter of *Scylla* Tyrrell forcibly exposes a false antithesis which Professor Lindsay noted some years before in his valuable work on *The Church and the Ministry*. The antithesis concerns the origin of Authority—whether 'from above or from below,' whether 'from Heaven or men.' Both authors point out that it is a false dilemma. There is no 'either. . . or.' It is a 'both . . . and.' True authority is both from God and from man, from God through man, from God through the Holy Spirit given to and indwelling in the whole Body, the people of God. So in our Anglican Ordinal, as Cranmer's Preface declares, the essence of the rite is Publick Prayer with Imposition of Hands ; and the Silent Prayer of the People followed by the common recitation by 'Bishop and priests and others that are present' of the *Veni Creator* is included in the essence. This harmonizes with the judgement of Mgr. Duchesne, who points to early formularies and quotes Augustine : 'What is imposition of hands but prayer over the man ?' In general, then, Tyrrell holds that authority inheres in the people. 'It is the moral coerciveness of the Divine Spirit of Truth and Righteousness immanent in the whole, dominant over its several parts and members ; it is the imperativeness of the collective conscience.' There are no men separated like the God of the Deists Himself, standing as 'God's vicegerent outside and above the community,' responsible only to the distant assize of the Last Day and not to the community which it is their office to *represent*. The metaphor of the 'Shepherd and the Sheep,' which is parable and not politics, has been wrested to mean that the



priest or pastor is *different in species* from his flock. 'Squeeze a metaphor hard enough and it will yield poison.' History shews that the two great evils of Sacerdotalism, the evil of worshipping an ecclesiastical system for its own sake and the evil of official irresponsibility, rise directly when priests or bishops or popes forget that authority is not only from God, but it is *for* men and *from* men. The voice even of Bishops in Council is a vain sound unless it gathers up and reasserts the whole testimony of the living Church, with a view to edifying the Body.

Tyrrell's doctrine is no loose democratic theory. It is democratic as opposed to 'sacerdotal bureaucracy.' But in many passages he shews the scorn of a true aristocrat for the mere sound of many voices. He reveres and loves humanity, but as the instrument of a divine purpose; above all he reveres and loves the Brotherhood of the Catholic Church, but only as the chief organ on earth of the Holy Spirit of God.

The whole of *Medievalism*, besides being a defence against the unprovoked attack of Cardinal Mercier, is a brilliant exposition of his theory of the Seat of Authority. It is understood that the last and best expression of Tyrrell's Ideal of Catholicism will shortly be given to the world in a still unpublished work, *Christianity at the Cross Roads*. If anything said in the foregoing pages seems false in spirit or dubious in reasoning, the writer would beg to ask the reader to hear Tyrrell speak for himself in this new book and in *Medievalism*. How great the crisis seemed to Tyrrell may be judged from one last extract.<sup>1</sup>

'Shall the once-thronged city lie deserted and the Queen of the Nations be made a widow and the streets of Zion mourn because there are none to come to her solemnities, because her gates are thrown down and her priests in tears and her virgins in rags and she herself oppressed with bitterness? Shall her gold be tarnished and her fine colours faded and the stones of her sanctuary lie heaped at the street corners, and all this because she has let her sucklings perish for thirst, and refused the bread of life to her little ones—to the starving millions of our

<sup>1</sup> *Medievalism*, p. 184.

modern civilisation who wander harassed and worried as sheep having no shepherd ; or because for the scarlet rags of a secular splendour departed long since and for ever she has forgotten her true glory, and has walled herself round with stone and iron, and narrowed the borders of her tent, and from a world-embracing religion as wide as the heart of Christ has shrivelled herself up to a waspish sect glorying as none other in her rigidity and exclusiveness ?

‘ Is this what Catholicism has come to—so grand a name for so mean a thing ? Is this the religion of all humanity and of the whole man ; of the classes and the masses ; of the Greek and the barbarian ; of the university and the slum ; neither above the lowest intelligence nor beneath the highest ; neither a burden to the weak nor an offence to the strong ; the religion not so much of all “ sensible men ”—for all are not sensible, as of all honest men—for all can be and are naturally honest ; a religion unencumbered and unentangled with contingent and perishable values, free as an arrow in its flight straight home to the universal conscience of humanity ?

‘ All this we had a right to look for in the Church of Rome, the nursing-mother of European civilization. And what do we find ? Are her breasts dry ? Are her hands empty ? Can she do nothing for us—nothing at all ? ’

## V.

There is a touch of the Oriental in the Vatican attitude towards the leading Modernists. A few years ago the Chinese authorities might just so have disciplined reformers who denounced the traditional methods both of study and of warfare, suggesting that the Confucian scholasticism was after all not the last word of science, and that bows and arrows and martial anathemas were of little use in modern war. We can easily imagine how progress in China might long be delayed by a ‘ Black ’ party who had power enough to hurt patriots, but not to protect or develop their own country. Yet, as China bids fair already to rise immeasurably above her official tradition, so the Roman Church will surely not submit for ever to be baulked of its mission by the mandarins of the Vatican. Fogazarro’s *Il Santo* suggests the most reasonable hope for the future. A strong and

well-informed Pope might save the situation. He might liberate Rome from imperialism in rule and mediaevalism in thought, and restore her leadership in the world of ideals and of religion. But it would need almost superhuman strength to burst the bonds of officialdom. The present Pope is by universal consent a man of holy and good will. Not long ago, we are told, a delator informed him against a certain priest, saying '—— is a Modernist.' The Pope replied, 'Well, he may be ; but I know him : he is an honest man ; let him alone.' And when he heard of Tyrrell's good end he is reported to have said 'How singular ! Unlike most arch-heretics he has died like a good Christian. We thrust him out of the sanctuary ; he retreated to the threshold, but would not be denied his right of pitching his refuge on the Church steps. May God have mercy on his soul and grant him light eternal !' Without much power of distinguishing between character and opinion the Pope is surprised that a 'heretic' should die like a Christian. Without much power to contend with his crushing environment of bureaucrats, he is unable to save from their clutches more than one here and there. But his good heart recognized that Tyrrell loved the Catholic Church. It is a tragedy that the good heart should be pent up instead of expanding its influence through all the words and deeds that are put forth in the Papal name. But the Vatican system of thought and rule, which is jammed like an iron mask over the features of each successive Pope, is too inveterately rigid. It is a 'section of mediaevalism surviving into the twentieth century, as much at home there as Cleopatra's needle on the Thames Embankment, but hardly as innocuous.' 'Hardly as innocuous' ! We can imagine how Tyrrell, with a glance of humorous irony, might have recalled his phrase as the end drew near. He, who always found life itself in fighting on the intellectual frontier for the expansion of Catholicism, seems to have been quite worn out by his struggle with the 'little Catholics' at home. It is as though some devoted doctor had been mishandled by Hindu fanatics in the suspicion that he was spreading the plague.

The arm of the Vatican was once a long arm. It could

strike and wound its foes afar off. Shortened now it reaches none but friends. All who are content to keep aloof from Rome are free to smile at her thunders. But those who love the Roman Church, and cling to it that they may serve and cherish it, remain at the mercy of the Vatican. They can be robbed of work and fellowship; they can be wounded through their affections; they can be hurt to death.

## VI.

On July 15 Father Tyrrell died at Storrington after a short illness. He died at his prime, leaving evidence of a maturing power which might have done much towards the revival of the doctrine of the Church. There was unhappily some newspaper controversy after his death, which would have been avoided if the Abbé Bremond's advice had been taken. Before leading the way to the grave he said: 'Catholic burial has been refused by our ecclesiastical authorities, and we will make no comment on their decision, accepting it in silence as he (Tyrrell) told us to do.' But a friendly priest appears to have heard Tyrrell's confession and to have given him conditional absolution; and the Prior of Storrington administered Extreme Unction. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark was clearly in a very difficult position. By granting the last rites he might have raised a worse storm within his own communion than his refusal raised without. Tyrrell died, as has been said, 'a penitent Catholic but an impenitent liberal.' Much as he loved the outward rites of his Church, he loved honesty more. Baron von Hügel, whose testimony is final, assured his last confessor, when the dying man was beyond clear expression, that, firstly, Father Tyrrell would wish to receive all the rites of the Church; secondly, he would be deeply contrite for all and any sin or excess of which he had been guilty, as in other matters so in the course of controversy; but that, thirdly, he would not wish to receive the Sacraments at the cost of retractation of what he had said and written in all sincerity and still considered to be the truth. Tyrrell's body was conducted to the grave by his



cousin, Mr. William Tyrrell (brother of Professor Tyrrell, of Trinity College, Dublin), the Baron von Hügel, a few Anglicans, and the Abbé Bremond, who read the last prayers. At the grave-side, in the course of a wise and touching address, the Abbé, a distinguished French priest and author of, among other works, a widely admired book on Newman, made the following reference to Tyrrell's strong inclination towards the Church of England:—

‘ You see the place which we have lovingly chosen for him, since another place was refused to us. You see the place. He used to like it, and many a time when he was living in the Priory here, he came reciting his breviary in the very same path along which they have dug his grave. As you see, it stands halfway between the two churches, the one in which he died, and the other in which he was born. On this side, separated from us by a tiny wall, the Catholic church, on the other the church of Keble, of his friend of friends, Dolling, and of so many of you who have been so discreetly kind and so courageously true to him. You would have kept faithful to him in spite of all intellectual discrepancies had they been much greater than in fact they were. Still you knew how deep was his reverence for the old Establishment through which not only Newman but Manning himself testified that the Holy Ghost had been, and was still, working for the greater benefit of England. When I speak of this, his reverence, I feel I do not say enough. He loved it, too, not only as the home of many of his friends, not only as the home of some of those millions for which he ever cared so much, but also as the home which seemed to await him, promising to this wandering and exiled pilgrim of eternity, with some of the sacramental ordinances which were for him of so great a value, the strength of a religious brotherhood and a sense of rest. So it was, and we need not try to conceal it. We are twice bound to tell the plain and entire truth in speaking of him who feared nothing in this world except the faintest shadow of a lie. In our endless walks, either here or in Richmond, I remember with what tender eagerness he used to enter into the village churches, slowly moving under the ancient vaults as one who loved to evoke the echoes of his childhood, deeply realizing the peaceful and soothing poetry of your liturgy, the splendour of the English Bible, the scholarly and refined liberalism, or the quiet unpretending devotion of your clergy.’

Strong and almost overwhelming as this attraction was, yet, as a matter of history, Tyrrell did not act upon it. Indeed we have reason to believe that he would never have taken a step which, however deeply comforting to his own soul, and however joyfully welcome to his Anglican friends, would yet have 'offended' many trembling disciples in his own communion, and must have hurt the immediate aims for which his life was spent. Certainly, now that it is plain he could not have been long with us, we cannot quite regret that he endured so nobly to the end. His example and memory belong to us all. His character and aims were too large, he belonged too much to the whole Church of Christ, for it to matter very much whether he died in this or that section of the Body. His name will not die, for his books will live; but whatever his posthumous influence may be, it must lose that personal quality which it had for those who knew him. His most characteristic power was personal, and was chiefly shewn to members of his own communion who were in the distress of doubt. 'As for our own personal loss,' said Abbé Bremond, 'it is beyond words. He was the one to whom we turned in all our anxieties, and to whom some of us at least owe it that they kept faithful to the Church and to the Christ.'

G. E. NEWSOM.

#### ART. VII.—THE POOR-LAW COMMISSION: THE MINORITY REPORT.

1. *The Break-up of the Poor Law; being Part I. of the Minority Report of the Poor-Law Commission.* Edited with Introduction by SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909.)
2. *The Public Organisation of the Labour Market; being Part II. of the Minority Report of the Poor-Law Commission.* Edited with Introduction by SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909.)

THE somewhat unusual form in which in these two volumes the Report of the Minority of the Royal Commission on the

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Poor Law is presented marks an important departure from established usage. Minority reports have not been, indeed, of infrequent occurrence in late years, owing, perhaps, to the growing habit of having different so-called 'interests' represented on Commissions, instead of their being composed of persons of impartial and judicial minds who have some special knowledge of the subject to be treated. But for the minority to issue their report in the form of an ardent and aggressive, laboured and lengthy, political pamphlet, makes, if we mistake not, a new feature in political controversy : we are not sure that it makes a commendable one. At the same time it is only fair to admit the great conscientiousness, ability, and thoroughness with which the scheme propounded has been worked out. The scheme itself is simple, logical, and far-reaching ; it deals not with generalities only, but descends into details, and these are treated with knowledge and care ; an attempt is made to meet objections and to state the opponents' case with fairness ; and, if the general result aimed at did not seem to us dangerous and even destructive to national well-being, we should be forced to confess considerable admiration for the way in which the case for it is presented.

## I.

The general purport of the two volumes is sufficiently indicated by the titles respectively given to them ; in the first, entitled *The Break-up of the Poor Law*, we have a plan not for the reform, but for the abolition, of the existing Poor Law and for supplying its place by a system the exact antithesis of the principles which were embodied in it. The underlying principle of the existing Poor Law was that those only should be assisted by the State who had failed to support themselves, and those dependent upon them, by their own exertions and by such help as they could command from their relations and friends ; that their numbers should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits ; that every effort should be made to restore them to that position of independence from which they had fallen ;

and that in consequence their condition should not be made better than that of those who were struggling, and successfully struggling, to support themselves. The principle of the new scheme is that everyone should at once turn for assistance to the State who finds himself, or those dependent on him, to be in need of what he himself, or even certain State officials who are appointed to inspect and look after him, may consider to be the necessities or conveniences of life ; and that quite apart from any consideration as to whether he has himself made, or has not made, any effort to provide them by his own self-denial or his own exertions. Nor is any adequate provision taken to secure repayment, which it is notoriously difficult to exact for services already rendered. What is proposed is that while a fixed rate of payment should be enacted by Parliament for each kind of service which is placed at a man's disposal, the amount of payment actually required is to be measured by the recipient's supposed ability to repay according to the judgement of an official or body of officials especially appointed to take cognisance, it would seem, of the ways and means of every family within a given area over which they preside. It is obvious that in such circumstances the numbers of those availing themselves of State assistance will indefinitely increase (for why should anyone hesitate to do so ?) while the ability to pay will steadily diminish, for why should a man deny himself or bestir himself to provide payment, since if he fails to provide it, as the service has been already rendered, someone else must necessarily provide it for him ? Pauperism will, indeed, under such a scheme have been abolished, but it will have been abolished at the cost of making the majority of the community paupers, only called by another name ; and where, after a little time, is the cost of providing so gigantic a system of State-supplied assistance to come from ?

The second volume deals in an equally revolutionary spirit with the whole problem of unemployment and, to quote its own title, *The Public Organisation of the Labour Market*. That it contains a searching analysis of the causes at present at work to produce unemployment and of the



defects which have marred our present attempts to deal with the evil, few readers will deny; that it contains valuable suggestions, and even valuable specific proposals, we readily admit; on the other hand, its special pleading to prove that the evils which have disclosed themselves in the attempts that have been made to deal with the problem through municipal action would disappear were the experiment tried on a larger scale are most unconvincing; while the cost involved in carrying out this part of the programme would be overwhelming, and the interference it would entail with commercial enterprise, with individual initiative and responsibility, appear to us likely to prove in the last degree disastrous and oppressive.

The two volumes taken together are intended to embody, and do embody, one vast and more or less coherent scheme of social reconstruction; yet inasmuch as it would be possible to approve of one of them, and even adopt it, without necessarily approving, still less adopting, the other (though the spirit which pervades the two is identical), it seems best for the sake of clearness to discuss the two schemes separately, while it will be necessary in the end to try to estimate what would be likely to be the effect of the adoption of the whole scheme, as formulated by its authors, on national character and national prosperity.

## II.

In order to shew the need of a radical reform, the Report of the minority, like that of the majority, begins with an analysis and *exposé* of the defects inherent in, or which experience has brought to light in, the working of the present system. At the root of the whole evil, they maintain—and here their view is largely in accordance with that of the majority of the Commissioners<sup>1</sup>—lies the institution (which, contrary to the intention of the reformers of 1834, has come to prevail over the whole country) of the general mixed workhouse. This, they contend with much force, makes

<sup>1</sup> The Majority Report was considered in an article in the last number of this Review (*C.Q.R.*, July 1909), pp. 308–335.

an unsuitable home for the aged poor, more particularly for the respectable aged poor, and one which they detest. For the able-bodied, more especially for the able-bodied women (who resort to it largely in illness or to be confined), it is apt to be a source of contamination and demoralization; while for the infants who are born within its walls the workhouse is too often a death-trap, and at best proves an unhealthy and depressing nursery in which to be reared. For the able-bodied men who in the towns have in recent years resorted to it in increasing numbers, it too often becomes an enervating and unsuitable club, which they use whenever times are slack or they have spent the money that they have picked up by casual jobs. Discipline is hard to enforce where there are multitudes of different ages and conditions herded together; a task of work perfunctorily and intermittently performed has little educative value; and the small powers of detention possessed by the guardians have little deterrent effect upon men who become extraordinarily acute in availing themselves to the utmost of their legal rights. The fate of the children of these able-bodied parents, who belong mostly to the class known as the 'ins-and-outs,' is harder still. Their work at school is constantly interrupted by their parents dragging them out at the shortest possible notice; while, when taken out, they are constantly kept for the few days of their enforced liberty in surroundings apt to be highly objectionable, where they learn evil lessons only too easily imparted to the other children with whom they associate at school. If, on the other hand, the guardians remove them from the control of their parents by adopting them, as they are allowed to do under the existing law, not only are the parents, out of whose charge they are taken, absolved from the necessity of supporting them, but the children, too, are deprived of what educative influences there may be in home life. Whatever else is asserted about giving relief to tramps and vagrants in the casual wards of the workhouse, it cannot be maintained that it has done much either to diminish their number or to reclaim them to lives of more settled industry.

In the matter of outdoor relief it is contended again that the results of the present system are no less unsatisfactory. Owing to the almost necessary lack of investigation and of detailed knowledge on the part of Boards of Guardians and their officials, to variations in the principles adopted by various Boards in the administration of relief of this kind, owing, again, to changes in the *personnel* of different Boards at their different meetings, and still more after successive elections, to favouritism in some cases, to lack of attention in others, the amount of relief granted is uncertain and capricious, varying not only from district to district and from year to year, but even from month to month. As a rule it is inadequate and insufficient, since it is generally assumed that there are other undisclosed means of support open to the applicant (as, indeed, there often are) ; but in exceptional cases it is superfluous and excessive. The sick and infirm, again, who receive medical relief and attendance at their own homes, are often inadequately treated by the Poor Law doctors (who are generally overworked and under-paid), are poorly nursed or not nursed at all—in any case are too often nursed in surroundings and under conditions which are inimical to their speedy and complete recovery and restoration to health and strength. In not a few cases, most of all perhaps in cases of consumption, those thus treated are apt to be sources of infection to other members of their own family, and so spread the disease which has laid them low. Or take again the case of able-bodied widows, or of widows in infirm health, with children. To no class in the community is outdoor relief more constantly or, it would seem, more legitimately given than to them. Yet with what very unsatisfactory results ! The guardians, when once they have determined the amount they will allow, only too often wash their hands of them. The women, obliged to go out to work for their own support and that of their children, have almost necessarily to neglect their children. Owing, moreover, to the slenderness of their resources such widows are forced, or are at any rate permitted, to take houses in the poorest the most insanitary, the most undesirable neighbourhoods

and their children, unkempt and underfed, brought up in such surroundings, sink in their turn into hereditary paupers or swell the ranks of the semi-employed or the unemployable.

### III.

It is a dark picture this, and it is largely true, even if the shadows in it have been unduly darkened and the lights left out ; it is a state of things which needs and which calls for a remedy. What shall the nature of the remedy be ? This is the point on which the Reports of the majority and the minority directly join issue. The contention of the majority is that a cure of most, if not of all, of the ills incident to the present system may be hopefully looked for in three different directions. First, by extending the powers and perhaps increasing the staff of the existing Poor Law division of the Local Government Board. Were this done, improvements in administrative detail and a great extension in administrative uniformity might be introduced which would of itself go far to remedy or mitigate many of the evils of the existing system. Mr. Burns, the President of the Local Government Board, in a speech made in the course of the summer, has lent his authority to the support of this contention. A second direction in which the majority look for improvement in the present conditions is to be found partly in a change in the *personnel* of Boards of Guardians, partly in giving to the Local Government Board more stringent powers of veto and control ; while, thirdly, they would institute a local authority which should be responsible for the direction and superintendence of the relief given throughout the county as a whole. Under this body would be placed all the workhouses and other institutions connected with the relief of the poor established throughout the county, though the County Authority would be at liberty to delegate the charge or superintendence of this or that particular institution to this or that Board of Guardians within whose area the particular institution happened to be situated. Were this done, there might take place that classification of workhouses



and of other Poor Law institutions (always, it is to be remembered, contemplated by the authors of the reforms of 1834) which would allow of different institutions being specialized to meet the needs of different classes of applicants for assistance, and of these receiving in each case the particular kind of treatment which was best suited for them. Lastly, the reforms advocated would bring into relation with one another, or into intelligible relation with the relief afforded by the Poor Law authorities and committees throughout the country, all the charitable agencies which the country contains, so that all would, it is hoped, gradually come more and more to place at the disposal of a central board, on which all and each of them would be represented, the different kinds of assistance which they may severally provide.

The plan thus sketched has at any rate these advantages. It starts from a basis of what already exists and has therefore nothing revolutionary or unprecedented in its character. It meets at once to a considerable extent the evils complained of in the existing system, and meets them on lines which are, or would easily become, familiar to those who would be called upon to work them. It keeps up and maintains the well-established line of demarcation between those who are able to maintain and help themselves by their own exertions (together with such assistance as is open to them from friends or from friendly institutions, which voluntarily place their resources and means of assistance at their disposal) and those who, having failed to meet the necessities of their case by such means, fall back upon the State to assist them out of resources compulsorily collected from those unwilling as well as willing to contribute ; and it makes some effort to confine this latter class within manageable dimensions. Once more it assigns to State aid and private charity separate spheres and intelligible relations, only calling in State aid where private charity has been found to be inadequate to cope with the emergency, or where the need to be met is of a kind which can only be successfully supplied by the combined efforts of the whole community.

## IV.

But it is just here that the logic of the situation halts. There is not—perhaps in existing circumstances there could not be—such a sharp line of demarcation between the spheres of individual exertion and voluntary help on the one side, and that of State-directed and State-maintained enterprise on the other, as we have here supposed; and not the least effective part of the pleading of Mr. and Mrs. Webb in favour of the assignment of the main portions of the work at present undertaken by the Poor Law to the different departments of State activity which have already been called into existence, consists in shewing how much has been done by the very existence of these departments, created in the interests of the community as a whole, in the way of curtailing the sphere which is directly under the control of the Poor Law authorities. From the earliest times the State has had to provide for the safety of the person and property of all its citizens of whatever degree; and till the close of the eighteenth century this, together with the protection of the country against foreign invasion, was supposed to be its sole duty, or at any rate the chief of its duties. But in the course of the nineteenth century the sphere of State activity became almost indefinitely enlarged. First public and free education was provided for all citizens who had not already secured a satisfactory education for their own children, and for many of those who had. Next the care of the public health was undertaken by the State and the municipality combined; and since the creation of sanitary authorities and officers of health, the control of the State over, and consequent interference by the State with, the lives and conditions of life of its citizens have been more and more extended. The case of the insane, again, has been largely entrusted to State and municipal authorities, and it is now proposed that all who are mentally deficient in any way should also be looked after by them. Lastly, in the past twelve months the State has undertaken to secure for all those who have been

unable or unwilling to make provision for their own old age a minimum sustenance ; so that everyone who arrives at the age of seventy and finds himself in possession of less than about 25*l.* a year will become entitled to an Old-Age Pension of five shillings a week.

Now it is to these different authorities, constituted to provide these different services to all the citizens who need them and to those who, it is considered, should receive them in the interest of the general well-being, that the Minority Report proposes to transfer all the duties and responsibilities at present undertaken by the Poor Law. The scheme of division, so far as it relates to all except the able-bodied, together with certain supplementary provision which its authors consider indispensable for its satisfactory working, is set out with admirable clearness and conciseness in the concluding chapter of the first volume of their Report, and as it will be necessary for our purpose to examine with some minuteness some of the proposals contained in it, we shall proceed to give these proposals at length and for the most part in their authors' own words.

In the first place the scheme provides ' that the Boards of Guardians in England, Wales and Ireland, and Parish Councils in Scotland (so far as their Poor Law functions are concerned) be abolished, and their property, liabilities, powers and duties be transferred to the County and County Borough Councils, strengthened in numbers, as may be deemed necessary for their enlarged duties.'

2. ' That the provision for the various classes of the non-able-bodied should be wholly separated from that to be made for the able-bodied, whether these be unemployed workmen, vagrants, or able-bodied persons now in receipt of Poor Law relief.' (The provision to be made for these different classes of the able-bodied forms the subject of the second volume of this Report, and we propose on many grounds to treat it separately.)

3. ' That the services at present administered by the Destitution authorities, that is to say, the provision for (1) children of school age ; (2) the sick and permanently incapacitated, the infants under school age, and the aged

needing institutional care ; (3) the mentally defective of all grades and of all ages ; and (4) the aged to whom Pensions are awarded, be assumed, under the directions of the County and County Borough Councils, by (1) the Education Committee ; (2) the Health Committee ; (3) the Asylums Committee ; and (4) the Pensions Committee, respectively, of these bodies.'

4. The several Committees concerned are further to be authorized and required, under the directions of their Councils 'to provide under suitable conditions and safeguards, to be embodied in statutes and regulative orders, for the several classes of persons committed to their charge, whatever treatment they may deem most appropriate to their condition, being either institutional treatment in the various specialized schools, hospitals, asylums, &c., under their charge ; or whenever judged preferable, domiciliary treatment conjoined with the grant of home aliment whenever this is indispensably required.' With respect to payment for the services which the State will supply, it is provided 'that the law with regard to liability to pay for services thus rendered, or to contribute towards the maintenance of dependents and other relations, be embodied in a definite and consistent code, on the basis, in those services for which a charge should be made, of recovering the cost from all those who are really able to pay, and of exempting those who cannot properly do so.'

5. In order to carry out the objects contained in the last provision, and also to keep the various committees in touch with one another, and cognisant of each other's operations, it is next proposed that there should be established in each county or county borough one or more officers, to be designated Registrars of Public Assistance, to be appointed by the County and County Borough Councils, and to be charged with the threefold duty (1) of keeping a public register of all cases in receipt of public assistance ; (2) of recovering and assessing, according to the law of the land and the evidence as to sufficiency of ability to pay, whatever charges Parliament may decide to make for particular kinds of relief or treatment ; and (3) of sanctioning the grants of



home aliment proposed by the committees concerned with the treatment of the case. This Registrar of Public Assistance is further to have under him 'the necessary staff of Inquiry and Recovery officers, and a local Receiving House for the strictly temporary accommodation of non-abled-bodied persons found in need, and not as yet dealt with by the committees concerned.'

The remaining provisions of the scheme deal with the grants in aid which are to take the place of the present subventions to the Poor Law authorities, subject to these services being rendered up to a national minimum of efficiency (whatever precisely that phrase may mean), and also with the various national departments—some of them existing departments, others to be newly created for the special purpose—under whose direction, superintendence, and inspection the several committees responsible for these various duties and services, and their executive officers, are to be placed.

## V.

Now there is much, it must be confessed, that is alluring in this scheme. In the first place its authors have succeeded in shewing that it is practicable, *i.e.* that it could be carried out without an overwhelming amount of fresh legislation and by a comparatively simple transfer of existing machinery, and even of existing officers, from one local authority to another. The institutions and even many of the officers of the Poor Law would simply be taken over by the various committees to which an executive commission appointed for the purpose would assign them. Then, again, the scheme has the merits of simplicity: it creates no new authority—it actually diminishes by one those already in existence, and seems by doing so very much to simplify some of the problems to be solved. It exhibits, too, a certain logical coherence and intelligibility, and so promises to prevent some overlapping of functions which at present occurs, and to reduce the whole activity of the State to an orderly system: this in itself lends a certain attractiveness to the plan. Once more, it holds out

the promise of being effective—of being likely to accomplish its object. It would seem that under it every case that could occur would be effectually met and provided for. The infant and the child, the widow and the orphan, the feeble-minded and insane, the sick and the maimed, the old and the indigent, would each and all find a body whose duty it was to look after them, to provide for their wants, and to shield them from suffering and distress.

Such are the obvious merits which the plan can claim, and great no doubt they are ; yet the consequences which would follow from its adoption are so far-reaching, so insidious, and in our view so disastrous, that every effort ought to be made to prevent its being carried into effect. Let us try to indicate what some of these consequences are likely to be. In the first place, the proposed arrangement would extend indefinitely the functions and responsibilities of municipal bodies, and thus of the State, of which they are the organs. At first it might seem as if this would not be so, but the appearance is quite delusive. At present, except in the matter of education, and to a much smaller degree in the case of sickness, disease, and mental aberration or infirmity, and, this year for the first time, in respect of provision for old age, those only are assisted by the State who acknowledge their incapacity to assist and provide for themselves, and there is some slight stigma attaching to the acknowledged failure to effect this object. Under the revolution now proposed this distinction would altogether disappear, and everyone who chose would be provided for at the expense of his neighbour ; and, in the case of sickness and mental debility, not only everyone who chose, but everyone whose removal in the opinion of an official would be in his own interests or for the good of the community, is to be carried off to an institution specially provided for the class of cases to which he or she is supposed to belong.

In education, at any rate, it will be urged, very little extra provision will have to be made in order to carry out such a plan. We are not at all sure even of that. The past history of the working of the Education Acts is proof

of how a specialized department and the specialized committees which work under it grow in their ideas of what is needful when they have the public purse, as it is called—*i.e.* moneys forced out of the pockets of everyone by the will of the majority—to draw upon ; and what has been proved to be true in their case will undoubtedly prove true in the case of other departments and other committees as well. Nor will the enormous waste that has often been the result of changes in policy and alteration in the point of view, which have marked the progress and development of the Education Office, be escaped in other departments of municipal and State activity. Think of what costly developments an active Health Authority, charged with the care of all the infant life of a district, and constantly enlarging its sphere of operations (for it is obvious that it is as important to the future well-being of the community that the infants of the well-to-do should be reared on sound hygienic principles as those of the poor), charged too with the care of all sickness, and of all conditions possibly leading to sickness which may tell prejudicially on the general health of the community, is sure to indulge in. What an array of schools for mothers, maternity homes, nurses' homes, isolating hospitals, infectious hospitals, eye hospitals, ear hospitals, dental hospitals, specialized hospitals of all kinds, shall we not see arising ; and all done with a light heart, since all are paid for out of the rates and out of the taxes. All that is now done, and much more than is done, even in the richest districts, and done at such an expenditure of the rates that the populations intended to be benefited by it are moving into other districts to escape the burden, will become more or less universal through the whole of the United Kingdom.

Such will be the first and the most inevitable result of the changes advocated ; but the other pernicious consequences will almost certainly follow. In the first place, there must be in every direction an increase in inspection and an interference by officials with the private affairs and private life of individuals. The working of the Education Act of 1870 illustrates again how inevitable this process is.

The education of all children of school age when first undertaken by the State was supposed to be a comparatively simple matter ; and it was thought that inspectors might be restricted to seeing that the education imparted was sufficient in quantity and quality. Has it proved so ? By no means. We are finding it necessary to appoint inspectors to see in all kinds of different directions that the children are in a condition to profit by the education imparted to them. There is already in existence an inspection to secure that they are in sufficient bodily health and not in need of any special treatment to enable them to profit by instruction. We are threatened in the second place with an inspection to see that they are properly fed and not underfed (in the case of the children of the well-to-do it might be desirable to appoint inspectors to see that they are not overfed, an occasion, surely, of much mischief in after life) ; we are already forced to have an inspection that their heads are kept free from vermin ; and it will soon be necessary to have an additional inspector to see that their teeth are properly cleaned with brushes supplied at the public cost. The Children's Act, which has been passed with so much general applause this year, will involve the appointment of a number of other inspectors to look after other aspects of the child's life.

Now, we are not arguing that this extension of inspection is necessarily and in all respects a bad thing ; of course it has its good side, or it would not even be thought of. What we are seeking to maintain is that with every increase in the powers and responsibilities taken over by the community at large, there comes a more than corresponding increase in the inspectorate, which may even be increased to a point at which it will impair the productive capacity of the country (for inspectors are certainly not themselves directly productive labourers) ; and that this increase in the inspectorate involves an increased interference with the freedom of the individual in the management of his own affairs and a corresponding diminution in his sense of responsibility. Now, since under the scheme proposed there would be obviously an increase in the number of those, particularly



the infants, the sick—whether children or adults—the mentally diseased or feeble, for whom the State would make itself responsible (the distinction between those able to maintain themselves and those not so able being now so far as possible abolished), it is clear that there must take place a great increase in the area of inspection and a corresponding weakening of individual effort and individual responsibility. This would probably be a result contemplated with equanimity and even with satisfaction by the authors of the scheme, and yet it is a result which most Englishmen would rightly deprecate and regret.

But further, another result of a policy that would start the Health Committee in every district with a large number of rate- and State-supported institutions for the relief and care of the sick, of homes to receive the incurable and the aged who are bedridden, in cases where they cannot be properly nursed and tended in their own homes, will gradually eat out and suppress voluntarily-supported homes of the same sort. Again and again it has been proved that people will not both support rate-provided institutions and also voluntarily subscribe to institutions of a similar nature. They are being made to pay, as they justly observe, twice over. Yet to have the whole medical institutions of the country for the poor supported out of the rates and taxes will not only add greatly to the cost of government, it will convert the greater part of the medical profession into State-paid officials ; it will destroy, because it will render unnecessary, all those provident medical clubs and benefit societies which are the glory of our land ; and will deprive the poorer classes at any rate of a right which they have hitherto greatly prized, that of being able to select their own doctor, almost as the rich man can. Moreover, when the State and the municipality become directly responsible for all the medical treatment, and particularly the preventive medical treatment, of all the poor, there will arise all kinds of disagreeable and difficult questions connected with the prevention of certain forms of disease which, if the controversies waged some years ago over the Contagious Diseases Act are to be any guide,

will be fought with a bitterness and a strength of conviction on both sides which will throw our bitter disputes about the religious education of children completely into the shade.

We come in the next place to the question of expense. This is a point which rightly is hardly touched upon, at any rate is not gone into in any detail, by our socialistic reformers. They seem to assume that the community as a whole is equal to bearing any burden that can be laid upon it, and that the burden can be fixed, or mainly fixed, on the shoulders of the rich. Yet communities have in the history of the world become bankrupt, and become bankrupt through works lavishly and wastefully carried on by their Governments. If, again, you withdraw very large sums from the pockets of the people and spend them in paying for services which are very remotely productive, nothing is more certain than that, having impaired the capital of the country, *i.e.* the amount of wealth which is to be invested in productive enterprise, you will diminish the total production of the country; and if the total production, then the amount that can be spent in wages as well. But further, as rates and taxes grow, the cost of production is thereby increased; the country puts itself in a less advantageous position for competing with countries less heavily taxed in foreign markets, foreign trade will dwindle, employment will be restricted, with the inevitable result that wages once more will fall. If, then, it can be shewn that the cost entailed by the proposed changes is likely to be enormous, and of a kind which will inevitably expand, we shall have gone far to shew that the acceptance of such a programme as is proposed in these volumes could be nothing less than a curse and a disaster to the country. But can there be really any doubt of the costliness of the scheme advocated? Take education first: it is clear that under such a scheme a large number of additional children will be thrown on the hands of the Education Committees; not only will many parents, who now make a struggle to maintain their own children, abandon the struggle when the State is at hand offering all sorts of additional advantages if only

they will give them up, but the ever-increasing requirements which the State will demand in the interests of the children will make it increasingly difficult for parents, even with the best intention, to satisfy them all, and will force them, whether they will or no, to come to the State for assistance. And they will have the less hesitation in doing so because the element of compulsion will have entered in. Almost everyone shuffles, if he can, out of direct payment for a duty which he is compelled to perform. It was because education was made compulsory that, therefore, it was also made free ; and as you extend the sphere over which compulsion reigns, certain it is that you will extend the area of services which will have to be given gratuitously to those on whom they are forced.

It will be urged, indeed, that provision is made in the scheme for payment on a fixed scale to be exacted from all those to whom services of any kind are rendered. There is such a provision, but it is illusory. What happened under the Education Act is here, again, instructive. Many parents were at first willing to secure, as certain parents are still, advantages for their children by continuing to pay fees for them ; but the Education Office and the more democratical School Boards set their face against such a distinction being allowed, and fees have almost entirely disappeared from all schools. To collect a debt for a service already rendered is proverbially difficult, and would be found in practice quite impossible when the service had not been voluntarily sought but imposed upon the recipients by an outside authority. Nor would the growth in the cost of institutions under the control of the Education Authority be less certain. Something might be saved here and there by the abolition of costly scattered homes—though why the Education Authority should be more economical than the Poor Law Authority it is hard to see, and in practice it would certainly be found that it is not so—and by the more general adoption of a system of Boarding-out ; but the growth of the inspectorate which would be required, if a widely extended system of Boarding-out is to be made even approximately safe, would more than

counterbalance any saving thus effected ; and the increase in highly specialized institutions for the benefit of special classes of children, which is sure to occur, cannot fail to add greatly to the cost of elementary education as a whole.

But if such is the prospect of education under the existing system and that likely to be imposed under the new scheme, even more certain is it that the amount expended on the medical care of the sick, the infirm, and the aged will go up by leaps and bounds. There is scarcely any limit now to the sums which medical science wishes to expend on the treatment of those entrusted to it, in hospitals and homes, though the fact that the money has for the most part to be painfully raised by voluntary effort acts as some check upon the expenditure ; but did doctors feel that they had the apparently inexhaustible public purse to draw upon, then indeed there would be no bounds to their demands, nor, we would add, sometimes to their reckless extravagance. In this connexion it is necessary also to remember that there would be a constant tendency towards the treatment of all diseases in public institutions rather than in the homes of the patients. Any possible risk of infection is avoided thereby ; more adequate nursing, and on a more economical basis, is secured ; the surroundings of the patients can from many points of view be made more conducive to their speedy recovery ; the doctors are saved much time and trouble in visiting patients at their separate homes. Owing to these and other causes it is quite certain that the medical officers of health, the superintending committees, the all-powerful Registrar of Public Assistance will be disposed more and more to gather all sick, and possibly sick, persons into rate- and State-supported institutions and to discourage the treatment of any ailment beyond the most trifling in the patient's own home. Now, not to mention the loss which the prevalence of this tendency will entail in the loss of the educative effect which the willingly given and affectionate tending of the sick has upon those who lovingly render the services required—a loss which other causes have often brought about in the upper and wealthier classes, not seldom with disastrous results ; apart from all such



considerations, is it not inevitable that the prevalence of this tendency should add greatly to the number and cost of those public institutions? What further cost will be entailed in the State taking over the care of all infants till they are of school age it seems hard to predict : all analogy points to its not being small, while the amount of inspection, and *paid* inspection, that it will involve will certainly be very great.

We do not doubt that a similar increase will occur in the cost of providing for the mentally diseased and mentally deficient, when the care of them is taken over entirely by the local authority ; but we need not labour this point, partly because the change has already to a great extent been made, partly because these being a class of persons not capable of looking after themselves, nor for the most part capable of being looked after by their relatives and friends, must necessarily fall under the charge of the community, which must perforce bear the burden, whatever it is, laid upon it.

By the Pensions Act of last session, again, the duty of making provision for the old and those past work has to a great extent been taken out of the hands of the Poor Law Authority and entrusted (but with exceedingly little executive or discretionary power) to Pension Committees of the County Councils. There is, therefore, no new principle involved in the recommendation of this part of the Report that the total provision for old age should be entrusted to the newly constituted Pension Committees. But the working of the Old Age Pensions Act, together with the additional proposals contained in the Minority Report, throw some very instructive light on the difference in cost between providing for a strictly limited class who have to acknowledge their inability to provide for themselves and to make application to be assisted by the State, and providing for all those whom the State may consider likely to need such assistance. The saving to the Boards of Guardians, and so to the State, by the passing of the Act has been comparatively trifling : there has been a diminution in the number of those applying for outdoor relief, but scarcely

such a diminution as to make a very sensible difference in the Poor Rate. Again, the diminution which has taken place has arisen from the fact that those who are, or have been, in receipt of Poor Law relief are disqualified from receiving a pension. This provision is, no doubt, not free from objection, and it has worked hardly in particular cases ; but it has had the effect of stimulating the efforts of those who are within measurable distance of the pension age to keep off the rates, and of their friends and relations to assist them in doing so. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer has undertaken to remove this disability with respect to those who have received relief before the passing of the Act, and the removal will almost certainly be extended to those who receive relief after the passing of it. At least this is the course warmly recommended by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. But, if it is adopted, not only will the number of those entitled to pensions be largely increased, but any incentive there may have been to avoid being chargeable to the public at any age in one's life will have been entirely removed, and so far people will have been encouraged to avail themselves of the services which the State is to put at their disposal. In this way the cost of these services will be further increased. Nor will the additions which are to be made in the near future to the existing pension scheme stop even here. Not only do Mr. and Mrs. Webb inform us with a light heart that the age which shall legally entitle to pensions is shortly to be lowered to sixty or possibly even to fifty-five (and think what that will mean in the addition of numbers to the pensioners and consequent cost of the undertaking!), but they also talk of supplementing in exceptional cases the national provision of pensions by local pensions to be given at the discretion of the Pension Authority, so that there would seem positively no limit at all to the number of those who are to be provided for or assisted by the State. The wealthy—if, indeed, there are any wealthy left—will certainly not be able to find all the money required, and the burden thrown upon the independent workers will be simply insupportable. And if the problem of meeting the

expenditure involved in the grant of Old Age Pensions is urgent now, how much more urgent will it become under the conditions thus shadowed forth. The undeveloped land tax will no longer remain at a halfpenny, it will soon mount to sixpence, or even higher ; the percentage of the increment tax will have to be increased ; the super-tax on incomes will be still further raised ; another screw will be turned in the death duties ; more will be withdrawn from the capital of the country, and the country will thereby be rendered less capable of bearing the ever-growing burdens which are to be laid upon it. The outlook is a formidable and a depressing one.

But with the dismissal of the Old Age Pensions we have not even yet come to an end of the expense which would be entailed by the adoption of the scheme embodied in the Minority Report. Behind all the committees, with their costly and ever ramifying apparatus, loom the formidable Registrars of Public Assistance with the temporary Receiving Houses they are to maintain and supervise, and with the great staff of Inquiry and Recovery officers who are to be under their control ; and then, to cap all, we are to have a court of appeal (again we suppose with suitable officers) which shall revise and determine appeals from the decisions arrived at by the Registrar and shall supervise the grants of home aliment to the non-able-bodied, this court being placed along with the department or division dealing with audit, loans and local finance generally, in close connexion with the Treasury.

There is one other aspect on which, though it might seem at first a mere detail, it is necessary to say a word, since it really goes to the root of the whole matter. It is the question of the bearing of such a scheme as that here propounded on voluntary agencies ; that is, in other words, on private charity. What is likely to be the effect of the competition of State-aided institutions on voluntary agencies covering, approximately, the same ground, we have already indicated : the latter, under the pressure of such competition, will slowly but surely disappear out of existence. Pensions granted to old servants, even if the present ones be kept

up, which is doubtful, will be granted no more. The State does the work—why should the individual interfere? Voluntary hospitals, almshouses, homes for incurables, will no longer be maintained when individuals are being forced to contribute to State-supported institutions of the same sort; and the sympathetic, kindly help which often enables friend or neighbour to tide over a difficulty, is in the last resort apparently to be made a penal offence—at any rate is to be discouraged by the whole force of scientific public opinion. We are definitely of opinion, write the authors, that no encouragement whatever (and if they are logical and their advice is to be followed, they must go a step further than this) is to be given to any distribution of money, food, or clothing in the homes of the poor by any private person or charitable agency whatever. Such we believe honestly the final outcome of the whole policy advocated in these two volumes to be. The State is to be erected into one all-superintending all-supervising Providence, and under its blighting influence all private charity, all kindly human feeling that helps to bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ, yes, and all hopeful energetic individual enterprise, the very salt of life, will inevitably tend to wither and decay; we shall indeed have created a desert and called it peace.

## VI.

In passing from the first to the second of these two volumes one cannot help being struck with a certain difference of tone. Not that there is any abatement in the severity and stringency of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's criticism of rival theories and different practices from those which they advocate: as Bacon said of Aristotle, they, like Ottoman Sultans, can tolerate no pretenders near their throne; but when they come to the statement of their own positions with regard to the able-bodied, these are put forth with more hesitation, less absolute self-confidence, than were the conclusions of the earlier volume. This arises partly from the complexity of the subject; no one, not



even the most self-confident, can attempt to find a remedy for vagrancy—which has baffled the best statesmanship of England for more than four hundred years—or for our modern problems of unemployment and under-employment, and not become conscious that the whole question bristles with difficulties; but hesitation is also natural because the steps which have been taken so far in the direction which our authors advocate have not only not been crowned with uniform success, but have been attended by many disagreeable consequences which have not always been foreseen and guarded against.

So far as the tramp population goes, our reformers seem to be more interested in shewing—what probably all would admit—that the present methods of dealing with them, whether by admitting them to the mixed workhouse, or by giving them out-relief of a somewhat rigorous kind in return for a fixed task of work, or by admission to test workhouses or tramp wards, whether rigorously or laxly conducted, are unsatisfactory and have even to a large extent broken down, than to have anything really positive to suggest in the way of improving the situation. The most positive suggestions they put forward are—first, that the care of the able-bodied of all kinds, and the vagrants among the rest, is to be entrusted to a national and not to any local authority; secondly, that those who have really taken to a tramping life and are, in the modern phrase, ‘work-shy,’ should be committed to a labour colony and there forcibly detained under remedial treatment till they give real signs of amendment—or else, if they give none, should be detained there for the rest of their natural lives; thirdly, that this power of detention is in no case to be entrusted to the Guardians (who are not regarded as fit to exercise it even to the extent to which Parliament allows them to exercise it already), but to a quasi-judicial officer who will, they hope, by inquiry into the vagrant’s past life, determine whether he really belongs to the tramp class or whether he is a workman willing to work, but unable to get employment.

Whether, if he is pronounced to belong to the latter

class, our authors would regard him as having a right to work, *i.e.* to have work found for him at the public cost, the Report does not expressly state : on the whole they seem inclined to propose that such should be kept in idleness at the public cost—and we fear that there are likely to be found not a few of them under these conditions—till useful work that they are capable of doing be found for them to do. Leaving them for a time in this position, the Report busies itself by considering the ways in which employment may be increased and unemployment diminished.

In the first place, the direct employment of the unemployed by the municipality, at wages approximating to the market rate, is rejected on the sound grounds—(a) that it is a ruinously expensive way of getting work accomplished, those employed being neither skilled at, nor interested in, the work to which they are set, and needing in addition a great deal of extra supervision ; (b) that if work which would in the natural order of events be done later, is done by workmen of this sort, this throws out of employment later on either the regular workmen of the corporation, or navvies or others engaged by contractors to do work of this particular kind ; while (c), that since the unemployed cannot be employed continuously, but get on public works a day or two a week to keep them from starvation, this plan does but add to the host of the casually employed.

The policy embodied in the Unemployed Workmen's Act of 1905 is treated with much greater favour and more leniency, because it embodied a good deal of the socialistic policy which our authors advocate. Yet it is hard to see what results of practical value it has so far achieved. The labour colonies, including even the one at Hollesley Bay itself, have been so costly that the Local Government Board has not felt justified in permitting their continuance ; while at Hollesley Bay farm colony, though something was done in an educational way to fit a certain number of those admitted to emigrate or to find employment on the land in England, the proportion so benefited was but small, and the majority of those returning returned, indeed, improved in health, but

soon sank back into the position of semi-employment or casual labour from which they had been temporarily extricated. We think, as the majority of the Commissioners also think, that in the future a certain number of farm colonies will have to be instituted as a means of instructing those who have never been brought up to any trade or regular work, and those who, owing to misfortune, have fallen into habits of idleness and shiftlessness from which there is a possibility of reclaiming them ; but there seems no reason why these colonies should be taken out of the management of the Local Government Board ; they cannot be numerous, and they will be only one among many agencies which the combined system of Poor Law relief and voluntary charity that we hope to see established as the result of the inquiries of the Commission as a whole will be able to make use of.

With the next two remedies proposed by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb it is possible more cordially to sympathize. The establishment of labour bureaus or exchanges originally put forward by the Committee for the Relief of Distress, afterwards contemplated (though not enforced) by the Unemployed Workmen's Act, now at last embodied in an Act of the present session, is a policy that has much to recommend it. That those who are in search of work should know where labour is needed, that employers of all sorts wanting extra workmen should be put in communication with those seeking work, seems only common-sense, and is a machinery which is being increasingly approved and made use of by the trades unions as well as by individual workmen. Whether it is desirable that, as the Report proposes, the public should find the money to transport a man and his family from one part of the country to another is more open to question ; it is a service which should be rendered at any rate only after careful inquiry and in exceptional cases, and, we think, is on the whole better left to private charity and individual resource than provided for from public funds. It will prove probably indispensable that the Labour Exchanges should ultimately be made national, and that registration at them should be made compulsory

on employers seeking to engage extra hands for very limited periods ; but, for the present at any rate, it seems desirable (though this will by no means meet the impatience of our reformers) that they should be left to win their way in popular favour, as all experience seems to shew that they will succeed in doing.

It is to the enforced extension of such National Labour Exchanges that the authors of the Report look in the future for such a dovetailing of casual and seasonal employments as will put an end to that chronic under-employment of large classes of workmen which forms the greatest difficulty and drawback in the present economic condition of the country. This under-employment arises, they maintain, and apparently with much truth, from more workmen in different cities, and especially in London, waiting about to be hired in different localities than are needed to fill all the jobs when work in that particular locality is at its busiest. If all workmen who were in search of a job applied, not in the particular locality which they were wont to frequent, but at a Labour Exchange, it is obvious they either would have the chance of going to, or would be sent off to, a job where labour was more scarce than in the particular locality whence they came. In this way they might well get a succession of jobs under different employers, and even in different occupations, instead of getting an occasional job in one particular district and under one special foreman. Yet there are difficulties in the way. The Report seems to assume that men would always be willing to take a job in a different locality from that to which they are used, and even at an occupation different from that in which they have been brought up. Ultimately they might come to do so, but at first the workers would be disinclined to make the change, and our authors seem hardly to have sufficiently realized the difficulty of applying compulsion to able-bodied men, or of effecting a change in the habits of a class by the stroke of a pen or by the order of an official. They seem sometimes, even where they have pointed to a true remedy or in a right direction, to have spoilt the effect of a recommendation by imagining that



it was possible or even easy to carry it out at once. In truth the process would be a gradual one. If workmen be by degrees habituated to make use of Labour Exchanges and come voluntarily to adopt them because they see and recognize their advantages, much good may come of them, and they may in time effect the changes which their promoters hope to realize by their means : if, on the other hand, they are to be a machinery forced upon an unwilling proletariat by the intervention of the State, plenty of means will be found of evading them and of contracting individual bargains which certainly will not be more to the interest of the workman because they have been rendered illegitimate. It would seem, then, reasonable that the working classes should be encouraged in the first instance to make voluntary use of Labour Exchanges, and that, so far as this can be effected, while the demand to make them afterwards compulsory will so far be diminished, the possibility of doing so when their advantages are fully understood will be greatly increased.

But it is obvious that if any ' dovetailing ' of occupations take place through their agency and a substitution of a smaller number of fully occupied men for a large number of semi-employed be realized, the result must be that a certain number of those who have so far been intermittently employed will be thrown out of work altogether. In order to provide places for them the Commissioners make three very stringent suggestions. They propose that boys and girls should not be allowed to work at all till fifteen years of age ; that no young person under eighteen be employed for more than thirty hours a week ; and that all young persons so employed should be required to attend for thirty hours a week at suitable Trade Schools to be maintained by the local education authorities. They further recommend that all mothers having the charge of young children, and in receipt by themselves or their husbands of any form of Public Assistance, should receive enough for the full maintenance of the family, and that it should then be made a condition of such assistance that

the mother should devote herself to the care of her children without seeking industrial employment.

Of these different proposals some may be in themselves desirable, but at what a tremendous cost would they have to be carried out ! Not only would the substitution of adult for child labour add in many occupations greatly to the cost of production, while at the same time depriving the children of the best possible kind of apprenticeship for learning their future trade ; not only would there be enormous difficulties and great expense in keeping up the discipline and instruction in the schools proposed ; but either such schools will have to be maintained in every village, or huge boarding establishments will have to be set up in different centres at an untold cost to the rate-payers. There are, again, many occupations, notably agriculture, in which an education given only or principally in a school, apart from experience gained at an early age, is of comparatively little use. Thus the schools will entail a great additional cost to the country, and to a considerable extent will inevitably fail to accomplish the object with which they are founded. A school which a boy, who would like to be at work and feels he is fit to be at work, is compelled to attend is in a very different position from one which he attends voluntarily because he feels it is to his interest to do so : the one is manageable, the other simply is not. Then there is the case of the widow and the deserted wife ; is the community to keep her children up to the age of fifteen, and partially up to the age of eighteen, even when the children themselves would feel that they might, if only they were allowed, be doing much, if not all, to maintain themselves without being indebted (for it comes to that, disguise it how we may) to others for support ? How, again, are you to enforce that the widow or wife who has children shall do no work, and up to what age are the children to be regarded as entitled to take up all her time ? Here once again will more inspection be necessary, more interference with, and prying into, the life of the individual be encouraged.

One other way in which it is hoped that employment

may be found for those whom the ' decasualizing ' of labour would throw out of work is by more severely limiting than is the case at present the hours of duty of railway, tramway, and omnibus workers, so that the companies may be compelled to take more men into their employ. On this proposal we would only observe that to carry out the change (since no one can be compelled to enter upon or carry on a business at a loss, and various lines would have to be abandoned) might easily result in a curtailment of work as well as an extension of it ; and there seems no reason why these particular industries should be singled out for specially onerous regulation by the State.

## VII.

We cannot now follow this plan for the public organization of the labour market into the many details and ramifications—traced out, many of them, we confess, with no little care and ability—into which it leads. That it contains much pungent and well-merited criticism on things as they are, much acute analysis of the causes and of the effects of under-employment, we readily concede ; that it has valuable hints and suggestions for the remedy of some of them we do not deny ; but like the scheme for the break up of the Poor Law, and even to a greater extent than that scheme, it suffers from two inherent defects. First, it assumes that there is no limit to what the State can properly and advantageously spend on desirable objects ; secondly, it would limit and interfere with in all sorts of directions the choice and freedom of action of full-grown men and women ; and not only this, but would subject them, as an inevitable consequence, to inspection, supervision, direction at every turn—a result not only undesirable in itself, but either enfeebling the individuality, initiative, and sense of responsibility in those who have to submit to it, or else leading to inevitable reaction and producing a sense of revolt against, and contempt for, and neglect of, laws which curtail at every turn what men feel to be their reasonable liberty.

Once at least in the history of Western Europe an attempt was made to convert the State into such an universal, superintending Providence as this Report of the minority contemplates making it. The experiment was made under not unfavourable conditions ; for the State was all-powerful in the Roman Empire in the second century A.D., and the Antonines were as enlightened and as well-intentioned rulers as, with a few exceptions, the world has ever had. In some ways the experiment was an apparent success, so much so that Gibbon, looking back over the period, pronounces the reign of the Antonines to embrace the period of greatest happiness which the civilized world has known. Yet what was the result ? In the first place, so enormous and overwhelming became the cost of government that the Empire, unable to bear the strain of the taxation involved, sank gradually but steadily into bankruptcy. In the second place, since it was easiest to make adequate provision for the necessities of the population in the great towns and more particularly in Rome itself, the population forsaking the country congregated more and more where such provision was to be found, in the great cities, above all in the capital itself, and that in spite of heroic efforts put forth by the Government to keep the people on the land or to lure them back to it. In the third place, the population, bred up to a town life and accustomed in all emergencies to look to the State to supply all their needs, made comfortable so far as might be and shielded from the ills of life at other people's expense, shrank more and more from strenuous labour, from hardships, and from danger. They gradually lost the manhood, the power, and the will to protect or defend themselves, and so fell before long a prey to hardier and stronger races, even though they tried to defer the evil day by hiring the more energetic and warlike among the subject races to do the fighting for them. Once more the inhabitants of the cities, relieved in great part from the cares and anxieties of life and that natural and healthful stimulus to exertion which those needs and anxieties supply, found life insipid and dull : never, perhaps, was there less true happiness or less



healthy contentment. In place of happiness came the craving for excitement and the passion for amusement, and that frivolity and childishness of disposition which devotion to amusement and the love of excitement inevitably bring in their train. The sports of the amphitheatre, pageants and processions were regarded as the serious business of life, and a life made up of games, processions and pageants was inevitably found disappointing and unsatisfying.

Now we are not prepared to say that in all respects the England of to-day resembles the picture of Rome in the second century which has here been sketched; there are, no doubt, great and important differences between them—historical parallels are notoriously misleading—and yet there are enough points of resemblance for us to take a warning to-day from what happened then, and to place us on our guard against any attempt to erect the State into an all-superintending, all-correcting Providence.

W. A. SPOONER.

ART. VIII.—GEORGE HOWARD WILKINSON,  
PRIMUS OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

1. *The Invisible Glory*. Selected Sermons preached by GEORGE HOWARD WILKINSON, D.D., some time Vicar of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, S.W.; also, Lord Bishop of Truro; and, at his death, Most Rev. the Bishop of S. Andrews, Primus of the Scottish Church. With a Preface by the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON. (London: A. R. Mowbray and Co., Ltd. 1908.)
2. *Spiritual Counsels to District Visitors and Others*. 'English Churchman's Library.' By the Same. (London: Mowbray. 1908.)
3. *Our Private Prayers: Some Practical Instructions*. 'Churchman's Penny Library,' No. 10. By the Same. (London: Mowbray. 1908.)

4. *One by One : Counsels in Retreat for those in Priestly or Episcopal Orders.* By the same. (London : Mowbray. 1909.)
5. *George Howard Wilkinson, Bishop of St. Andrews, Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church.* By HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, Canon of St. Paul's. (London : Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., Ltd. 1909.)
6. *Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson, Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, and Primus of the Scottish Church, formerly Bishop of Truro.* By A. J. MASON, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Two Volumes. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909.)

DR. MASON has added another obligation to those many and great which English Churchmen owe to him by his life of Bishop George Howard Wilkinson. For beauty of literary form, for the sweet reasonableness of its spirit, for its accurate presentation of the man of whom he writes, it deserves our gratitude. It gives to us to-day a knowledge as to what the Bishop was in himself and how it was he exercised the influence he did : it preserves for future generations the memory of one who made his mark widely and deeply on the Church life of his day.

George Howard Wilkinson was born at Durham on May 12, 1833, into a family of good position in the north of England. His father was 'a typical north-country English man,' a keen sportsman, a good man of affairs, and 'a religious man in his somewhat puritanical way.' His mother was a good holy woman, and her influence acted on her son George all through his life. It was to her he traced not only his personal religion but his vocation to Holy Orders. Her abiding influence on his life is the more remarkable since she passed from earth 'when he was only nine years old.'

He was educated at Durham School, a school which no Dunelmian would call a grammar school, because as the continuation of the old Abbey School it was before grammar schools existed. In this 'antient school of the Cathedral

Church of Durham' he continued under Dr. Elder as its Head Master, until he went to Oxford, where he was elected to a scholarship at Oriel. Religiously he was not much influenced by his Oxford career, although he was strict and diligent in living a Christian life. He graduated in 1855, and was placed in the Second Class in the Classical School. From November 1855 to October 1856 he was out of England, chiefly in Rome, where he met and lost his heart to his future wife, to whom he was married on July 14, 1857. What that marriage meant to him until his wife's death and beyond it to the very end no words can say. It was indeed of God. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Tait on Trinity Sunday, 1857, as curate of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington. He remained there until December in 1859, when he was appointed vicar of Seaham Harbour, a seaside town in the county of Durham with a varied industrial population. Here he laboured for nearly four years until he was transferred by Bishop Baring to the vicarage of Auckland in 1863. He worked at Seaham with very great earnestness and the fruits of that ministry survive there to this day, where his memory is by some dearly cherished. His work there practically was done on Evangelical lines and its influence was wide, deep, and lasting. The conditions of his ministry at Bishop Auckland were very different from those of Seaham. But, as at Seaham, he had to work among a large labouring population and his was essentially still a mission work in its most prominent features. Indeed one of the first two organized parochial missions in the Church of England was preached at Auckland in Lent, 1865. Here as at Seaham, but in a greater degree, his spiritual influence was manifest, and it has again been an enduring influence. But in it he was much tried by the position taken up by Bishop Baring, not only by antagonism to his work but by the breaking of happy personal relations. Probably some such variance was unavoidable: Wilkinson's position had never been that of the ordinary Evangelical. His colleague at Seaham Harbour, the Rev. Charles Green, says, as to 'our standard of Churchmanship we should certainly not have classed ourselves with Evangelicals, though no

one could preach Justification by Faith and the necessity of conversion more fully than Mr. Wilkinson and his curates. The Prayer Book Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration was not only firmly held, but boldly proclaimed in all its bearings.' The Bishop of Durham's position was that of the Evangelicals of his day, and with them he probably looked on the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration as 'a soul-destroying error.' This first ground of difference was soon followed by others. The time of Wilkinson's removal to Bishop Auckland coincided with a time of development in his own grasp of truth. He, with others who took part in it, was much influenced by some days of devotional retirement spent at Coatham, near Redcar. By their influence and by others he was led to a fuller grasp of sacramental truth. He formed intimate friendships with men who were firm in their grasp of Evangelical truth and able in the ministry of conversion, but who were definitely Catholic in conviction and practice. He was influenced by them as they were by him. Of these no one influenced him more deeply than Canon Bodington of Lichfield. When the mission at Bishop Auckland was ended and the need arose of leading his people into Christian living Wilkinson carried out the system of the Prayer Book with its daily prayer and frequent communion, and his teaching to them was on definite Church lines. The variance between the Bishop and him became at last so pronounced on the Bishop's part that it was clearly Wilkinson's duty to leave Auckland, which he did in January 1868, after a ministry of more than five years.

He passed from Auckland to St. Peter's, Great Windmill Street, where he carried on an aggressive work in a very difficult parish and also took part in missions in other places. His great work at Windmill Street was in connexion with the first London General Mission which was preached in November 1869. His ministry drew to Windmill Street a great many influential people, and among them one with whom he was for years linked in close friendship and who had an important part in shaping the course of his life—Mr. Gladstone.



His ministry at Windmill Street was of a very brief duration. Immediately before the twelve days' mission he received from the Bishop of London a call to St. Peter's, Eaton Square. He was instituted to that benefice, on St. John the Evangelist's Day, and on the first Sunday in 1870 he entered upon his ministry there. The story of those wonderful thirteen years from 1870 to 1883 Dr. Mason has told with great truth and force. But not even he can tell what those years were in their true fullness : no pen could do so. From St. Peter's Wilkinson's influence touched and moulded men far and wide as well as near at home. It won men and women in numbers from the world to confessed and consistent allegiance to our Lord as King in His Church. Its power was felt in all classes of the congregations that crowded St. Peter's, and Archbishop Benson wrote of him to Mr. Gladstone as 'possessing marvellous tact in influencing men of the upper classes and the very poorest of the people.' He carried his people with him in making the Church a building seemly for worship, and in making it a house of prayer with its daily Eucharist and daily offices, and its duly ordered Christian year. He commended the Church and the Faith to West-end laymen, and won them to its open confession. He kindled in them the enthusiasm of Christian service and won them to munificent almsgiving and earnest intercession. As Dr. Mason says, 'It was an astonishing ministry,' and Mr. George Russell has told us what it was from a layman's point of view.

The time at Eaton Square was also a time that left its mark planted deep and strong on Wilkinson himself. It was a time of marked growth in his knowledge of the Faith, and in his conformity to Catholic life. He went before where he guided his people and they grew together into fuller truth and life. This was especially true as to Eucharistic faith and life. This was a characteristic feature of him to the end : we might apply to him the inscription on J. R. Green's tomb in the cemetery at Mentone, 'He died learning.' But it was especially true of his time at Eaton Square. It was there that he learned the position of Confession in the English Church and carried his conviction into his ministry ; it was

there he learned the true conception of the Dedicated Life of Religion, and began to give expression to it in the formation of the Community of the Epiphany. In this part of his work he was much influenced by Bishop Webb, at that time Bishop of Bloemfontein. Wilkinson's idea was to form a community in strictest loyalty to the English Church, where the Faith should be held and taught in its true Evangelical aspect, where the religious life should be lived in the Liberty of the Spirit, and which should be in proper relations with the Bishop of the diocese in which it dwelt. No one can fully estimate the work of Wilkinson at Eaton Square who does not recognize the importance of the foundation of the Community of the Epiphany in connexion with it: it was its outcome and will be, in future ages, we believe, the living memorial of his work there.

In 1883, on the transference of Bishop Benson to Canterbury, Wilkinson was called to succeed him in the Cornish see, as Bishop of Truro. He was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on St. Mark's Day in that year, and on May 15 was enthroned in his Cathedral at Truro. He entered on his episcopate with eager zeal and with many a noble idea to realize, and for the first three years was full of active ministry as he went up and down his unique and most interesting Diocese. He seemed to be specially fitted for the post he filled in that county of Methodism. In a very real degree Evangelical High Churchmen claim the two Wesleys as their forerunners, alike in their Evangelistic teaching and Catholic belief; and Wilkinson was, as we have seen, and as his friend, Mr. Green, calls him, 'an Evangelical High Churchman.' As such he was in touch on the one hand with his Methodist people, and on the other with the definite Churchmanship of his own special flock. All was full of promise: he won the ears and hearts of his people: he was an influence for righteousness from castle to cottage: he carried on up to its consecration the work of building the Cathedral which he had inherited from his predecessor: he saw the spiritual life of his diocese extending and deepening. And then this fair promise ceased to be. Illness of body and spirit came upon him. His health began to fail in 1886, and

early in 1888 there came a great collapse and his medical advisers counselled him to resign his see. He, however, went abroad for some months, returning to England in June in time for the Lambeth Conference. The strain of this proved to be too much for him: he had to go abroad again directly it was ended, and did not return to Truro until the last days of September. He struggled bravely on until January 1889, when there was again a collapse. He proposed to resign, but Archbishop Benson would not hear of it; so again he left England seeking health and did not return to Truro until May 1890. For nearly a year he struggled on with his work, but it was beyond his powers, and in April 1891 he resigned his see.

After his resignation of Truro he was in a very distressing condition, both in body and in spirit. After some time it was decided that he should go to South Africa, and he left England, accompanied by Archdeacon Bourke, in June 1902. After a time of doubt as to the issue, this effected the desired result, and he arrived in England in November, restored to health in every way and fit for active work. It came to him without delay. On December 5, 1892, Bishop Charles Wordsworth, of St. Andrews, was called to his rest, and on February 9, 1893, Wilkinson was chosen to succeed him in that see. On June 30, 1904, he was elected Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

His service of the Scottish Church was given to it for nearly fourteen years, and he was its presiding Bishop for three years and a half. It was a very blessed period of his life, one of many great and varied interests, and one in which he was personally much influenced. No one who knew him intimately during that time could fail to recognize how his realization of the Catholic Church as the Kingdom of Jesus Christ deepened from year to year, and how more and more he grasped its character and caught its spirit. Year by year he became increasingly Catholic. This was the mark made on his faith and life in the Scottish Church. Even at Eaton Square this recognition of the Divine order of the Church was not prominent in his mind. As at Seaham he grew into the Evangelistic side of the Church's

life and at Eaton Square into its Sacramental side, so in Scotland he grasped with a definiteness stronger than he had before he went there its ecclesiastical side. It gave its completeness to his realization of the Church as the Spirit-bearing Body of Christ.

He gave himself without reserve to the Scottish Church in fullest sympathy with its position. He sought to be true to its spirit and to its history. This led him to prize its Eucharistic Liturgy, which he used in his private chapel and which he sought to preserve for it. During his episcopate he never spared himself in his ministries to the clergy and people over whom he ruled. He was to them in very truth a father in God. Nothing is more remarkable than his pastoral care for individuals in his diocese and his ministries to them in personal intercourse or by letters. As in his other spheres of ministry, his spiritual influence was widely and deeply manifested in the conversion of those who were living without God in the world, and in training in the practice of holiness those who were numbered with the faithful. In every way possible to him he advanced the spiritual vitality of the Church of his adoption.

He also shewed himself a wise man of affairs in the development and maintenance of diocesan organizations; in the policy he successfully advocated as to the position of the laity in the councils of the Church; in his settlement on wise lines of his cathedral at Perth. As Primus his power when presiding over the meetings of the Representative Church Council and other Church assemblies was remarkable, not only in the practical guidance of their deliberations but in keeping them at a high spiritual level without any consciousness of strain or unreality on the part of those over whom he was presiding. Dr. Mason has truly said that, 'taken as a whole, the period of his Scottish episcopate was one of the most vigorous and effective periods of his life.'

Perhaps in its wide-reaching power and its future results this is specially true of the part he took in Scotland in connexion with the movement for Christian unity. He keenly felt the condition of disunion among Christians, and



not the least in Scotland. At his first diocesan synod he gave expression to this as he asked :

‘ How shall these miserable walls of division be broken down which part from each other men who were redeemed by the one Saviour and who worship the one God and Father of us all ? We cannot separate ourselves from the thousands now within the veil, who in bygone ages, at the cost of their life blood, have kept undefiled the faith once delivered to the saints. We must not in our yearning for union raise new barriers between the Scottish Church and the world-wide Anglican communion, with its rich promise of a glorious future. We dare not, as in the sight of God, through our love for our brethren who differ from us at home, do anything which may for ever quench the hope of re-union with other branches of the Catholic Church dispersed throughout the world. And yet we long in our inmost heart to have a more living place in the national life of Scotland, to testify to God and man our recognition of the value of the noble efforts which are being made by other Christian bodies in our land.’

With this deep longing in his heart he sought to advance wisely and patiently the cause of Christian union. The barriers to the realization of this ideal of uniting Christians in Scotland in one national Church are many and great, like ‘ the great mountain ’ of which the Angel of the Lord spake to Zerubbabel. To remove them is beyond human power or skill, but it is possible with God. Man of faith as he was, Wilkinson believed this, and his conviction was that reunion could only be by the Holy Ghost, and that the one possible practicable step towards this was by prayer. ‘ Instead of speaking, it is well that we should rather pray.’

With this conviction, he did what in him lay to call Scotland to prayer for the restoration of Christian union in its midst. He brought the subject of reunion for a second time before his diocesan synod in 1896. He got into touch with individuals, both in his own communion and beyond it, who shared with him his longing for unity, and he took a leading part in the conferences held at the Roxburgh Hotel in Edinburgh for forwarding this movement. From these came a resolve to ask for a day of prayer for

unity to be recommended to the various Christian bodies of Scotland by their ecclesiastical authorities, and a statement of this desire and its reasons was drawn up and signed by clerical and lay members of each of these bodies. These were presented by duly authorized members of the Edinburgh conferences to the Episcopal Synod in the spring of 1901, and also to the General Assemblies of the Established and the United Free Churches. Before each of the Presbyterian assemblies Wilkinson was the chief speaker. In each case the petition was granted, and on Sunday, October 13, prayer for reunion 'as with one accord, with one voice' was offered in the Christian congregations of Scotland. It was a day to be remembered. Although, through temporary illness, Wilkinson was unable to take part in its public services in his cathedral of St. Ninian's, at Perth, yet it was a day to him big with thankfulness and hope. The immediate results of this movement have not realized these hopes. But the answer of the prayers of Scotland is clearly seen in the attractive power of the idea of reunion far and wide in this present, and in the increasing confidence on every hand that God who has moved His people to pray for this reunion will in His own time and way answer their prayers. In that day we shall see what Wilkinson's action in the cause of reunion has really effected.

His greatest work, however, during his Scottish episcopate was one not specially connected with Scotland. It was in connexion with the Mission of Help to the Church of South Africa. His interest in the Church in South Africa was of long standing, and was first aroused by his friend Dr. Webb when Bishop of Bloemfontein. But it was greatly increased by his visit to South Africa in 1892. From this time his interest in the country was keen and constant. He followed the war with a fascinated spirit, and when it was over he felt the keenest sympathy with its Church in its condition. It was suggested to him that assistance should be offered by the Church at home, in the form of a Mission of Help. So he put himself in communication with the Archbishop of Cape Town, asking whether such a Mission would be welcomed by the Church of South Africa. In

reply, he was informed that the Archbishop and Bishops of that Church welcomed the idea with heartfelt gratitude. They said that 'in their judgement such a Mission would be likely to result in great and lasting good'—a judgement the accuracy of which the issues of the Mission proved. They also formally asked Bishop Wilkinson to act for them in making arrangements for the Mission. This 'definite invitation came from South Africa in 1900, and the Mission was arranged for 1904.' At once Wilkinson began to take active steps for the sending out of the Mission. He interested individuals in the idea, and at length a Committee was formed to give it expression. In 1902 a deputation of five priests with Bishop Hornby at their head went out to confer with the Churchmen of South Africa as to 'the kind of help' specially needed. They went out in February and returned in October. As the result of their report, it was decided that Bishop Wilkinson, accompanied by Provost Campbell, of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, and Canon Scott Holland, should go to South Africa on a Preparatory Mission, which they did in the summer of 1903. It was a mission of sacrifice on Wilkinson's part, as he was suffering from a return of his old trouble. But his courage was equal to the occasion, and his ministry was most effective. 'He was able to speak with a vigour, and a clearness, and an eloquence, and an effectiveness hardly ever surpassed before.' The objects of this Preparatory Mission were completely attained; expectation as to the Mission of Help was quickened in South Africa, and the missionaries returned to England with the full information needed for its due organization. They returned to England towards the end of October. At once Wilkinson threw himself heartily into the work of preparation for the great Mission itself. Missioners were selected, conferences of these were held, directions for their work and for their personal life were drawn up, and in all this his was the directing mind and the inspiring spirit. Canon Scott Holland has said truly :

'It is not too much to say that, generally speaking, the success of the work has been chiefly due to him. It was he alone who possessed himself primarily of the ideal he set before us. He

alone could have succeeded in impressing it upon others by the steady persistence of his spiritual vision. He alone could be accepted in trust both by the Church at home and by the Church in South Africa—to which he was personally known—as an authoritative organ through which the act of communion between Church and Church could unreservedly take place.’

Wilkinson’s work in connexion with this Mission in its immediate and final results was probably the crowning work of his life. Its immediate results were a great extension and deepening of spiritual life throughout South Africa and an increased vitality in the Church and its work. The Archbishop of Cape Town wrote of it :

‘It has been in every way a wonderful spiritual blessing to us, and the inspiring power of the Holy Spirit has been manifest throughout it. Much as we expected from the Mission, its issue has been a great deal more than we anticipated in our sanguine moments.’

And who can foresee its final issues? The Mission of Help to South Africa inaugurated a new movement, linking the Mother Church at home to her daughter Churches. At the present time New Zealand and Australia are anticipating like Missions. They are but the forerunners of other Churches who will follow in their steps. And wherever such Missions are held, and so long as they endure, they will perpetuate the spiritual influence of Bishop George Wilkinson.

The end of Wilkinson’s time on earth drew near. As early as the end of November, 1904, one who knew him well noticed his failing health. In May, 1906, he was seriously ill and was near to death. So he was again in 1907, when he had to undergo an operation, after which he was for awhile in a critical state, but made a good recovery and returned to Perth in good health. In a month, however, he was again ill, but once more he recovered and threw himself into work. On December 1 he preached for the last time in his cathedral, and wrote of doing so with great joy to one of his chaplains on the following day, telling him of work that he hoped to do at once, and making arrangements with him for ministries in the summer. On the following Monday he went to Edin-



burgh for meetings on that day and the next one. On the morning of the Tuesday he presided over a quarterly meeting of the Executive Committee of the Representative Church Council. The meeting was to close at noon, and at a little before that hour he addressed the Council. He enforced the place of prayer in Church finance, as many there had heard him do at Aberdeen. One who was with him at Aberdeen will never forget that speech nor its effect on those who heard it. It was so at Edinburgh. 'His hearers seemed to hang on every word.' He sat down when he had finished his speech, and almost directly fell from his chair, dead. His prayer was answered. 'Spare me, if it be Thy Blessed Will, the pains of death.' He died in his work, witnessing for his Master. 'Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when He cometh shall find so doing.'

Such is a brief summary of the story of a loved friend's life which Dr. Mason has told in fullness and with true fidelity. This article is written with the purpose of leading those who read it to study the story of Bishop Wilkinson as his biographer has told it. For it is a story that should be known and studied. It tells of one who was conspicuous in his day as a man of very special spiritual influence. Now the greatest force in that influence was the personality of the man himself. Other things contributed to it but were subordinate to this. He was a special spiritual influence because he lived in the spiritual himself and was at home in it. He had a vision of Him who is invisible, and was continually in communion with Him. He was in a very special degree a man of prayer. All who speak of him note this as the arresting feature of his life. And it was through the power of prayer that his distinctive character was formed. If in each of God's saints some special feature of the Christian character is to be recognized, in Wilkinson what arrests is the power and beauty of devotion.

GEORGE BODY.

## SHORT NOTICES.

## I. OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

*Modern Research as illustrating the Bible.* By the Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy. The 'Schweich Lectures,' 1908. (London: Henry Frowde. 1909.) 3s. net.

THESE lectures represent the first-fruits of the wise and beneficent activities of a trust fund founded in memory of the late Mr. Leopold Schweich, of Paris. The trust is administered by the British Academy, and has at its disposal a sum of 10,000*l.* for the furtherance of Biblical research. Part of the income is allotted for the provision of three lectures to be delivered annually on some subject falling within the purview of Biblical studies; and the Council of the British Academy invited Dr. Driver to deliver the inaugural course. The Council's choice of a lecturer and the lecturer's choice of his subject are alike excellent. Dr. Driver is a Hebrew scholar and expert of world-wide fame, but he here shews also that as a writer he has a remarkable gift of popular exposition; and the volume before us—published at a price which ought to secure for it a very wide circulation—is sure to succeed in spreading abroad a knowledge of those achievements of modern research which so greatly help and guide the student of the Bible.

A masterly introductory sketch of the progress of research during the nineteenth century is followed (in Lectures II. and III.) by a more detailed account of Canaan as now known to us by inscriptions and the discoveries of excavators. Some fifty excellent illustrations and maps add to the interest of this volume—the pioneer in a series from which a very great deal of what is helpful for Bible study may confidently be expected.

We observe a slight inaccuracy on p. 30, where the Jewish Temple at Elephantine is described as having *seven* stone gates. The papyrus states that there were *five*, as was pointed out in an article in this Review for April 1908.

*The Origin of the New Testament.* By Dr. WILLIAM WREDE. (London and New York: Harper Brothers. 1909.) 2s. 6*d.* net.

AN attractive little book, giving in summary form, without argument, a survey of the literature of the New Testament from a critical standpoint. There are seven genuine letters of St. Paul—I and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, 1 Thessalonians,

Philippians, Philemon, and Colossians; 2 Thessalonians is too like 1 Thessalonians to have been written by St. Paul. Ephesians is too like Colossians, and deviates in thought and phrase from St. Paul's Epistles. The Pastorals have a decidedly ecclesiastical tone; language, style, and tone are entirely different from those of St. Paul's Epistles. The false teachers combated are the Gnostics.

The relationship between the Synoptic Gospels is explained on the familiar 'two-document' theory. The Fourth Gospel 'cannot possibly' be the work of St. John, who would not have 'not merely used the Synoptics, but developed their accounts in an unhistorical direction.' The 'we' sections in the Acts are more probably St. Luke's work than the whole book. The authorship of Hebrews remains undecided. It was certainly not written by Priscilla. The Catholic Epistles are all pseudonymous productions: 'in this—all unprejudiced experts are agreed.'

The series in which this little volume appears is 'Harper's Library of Living Thought.' Perhaps the views stated above may be said to represent 'Living Thought' in so far as they are held by a good many living people, especially in academic circles on the Continent. But it seems a pity that the readers for whom this series is intended should not have been given a hint somewhere in the book that most of the views advanced are denied by many critical writers of at least equal scholarship and sound judgement with the writer of this volume. Dr. Wrede writes clearly and reverently, and the translation hardly does him justice. Phrases like 'the design to defend,' 'as good as all,' 'this is no way the single question of importance,' 'It (the Fourth Gospel) is an exposition solemnly marching along,' jar unpleasantly upon the ear.

*The Two Books of the Kings, in the Revised Version.* With Introduction and Notes by W. EMERY BARNES, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. 'Cambridge Bible' series. (Cambridge University Press. 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE old 'Cambridge Bible' on *Kings* by Dr. Lumby occupied two volumes of 515 pages in all. The new commentary by Dr. Barnes forms a single volume of 337 pages. The author states in his Introduction (p. xlv) that the only commentary which he has systematically consulted is that by Benzinger (1899); and it is apparent from his notes that his method has been to work upon an independent footing without regard to the work

which has been done upon the text in recent commentaries and articles. For instance, it is difficult to estimate the debt which the criticism and exegesis of the text of Kings owes to the articles of B. Stade which appeared from time to time in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, and especially to his invaluable discussion on the narrative of Solomon's buildings (1 Kings v.-vii.) in the volume of 1883. Yet Dr. Barnes totally ignores these articles. A similar criticism must be passed as regards his use (or want of use) of the testimony of the ancient versions. Lucian's recension of the LXX, as recovered by P. de Lagarde (Gottingae. 1883), is of incalculable value for the text of Kings, and in many cases preserves original readings where the Massoretic text is at fault. Dr. Barnes mentions this recension in his Introduction (p. xxxviii), but does not seem to have used it. Thus (to take only a few instances) there is no mention of Lucian's reading '*avenged the blood*' for M. T. '*put the blood*' in I. ii. 5; nor of the reading '*his kinsmen*' for M. T. '*his great men*' in II. x. 11; nor of the existence in Lucian of the words '*and where are the gods of the land of Samaria?*' in II. xviii. 34, which have fallen out of M. T., but which are essential to the context. So, again, in II. xv. 10, Dr. Barnes remarks that the Hebrew text is corrupt and that perhaps the right reading is '*in Ibleam*,' but he fails to notice that Lucian actually reads '*in Ibleam*.'

It would, however, be a thankless task to enter further into detailed criticism. Perhaps the best feature in the Notes is the treatment of questions of archaeology, in which the writer has made good use of modern investigation. In the Introduction the section which deals with chronology is clear and concise, but the account of the date and authorship of Kings is altogether inadequate, and there is no illustration of the characteristic influence of the thought and phraseology of Deuteronomy upon the main editor of the book.

*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther.* 'International Critical Commentary.' By LEWIS BAYLES PATON, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1908.) 10s. 6d.

JEWISH admiration for Esther appears to non-Jewish readers excessive, if not extravagant. 'Maimonides declared that although the Prophets and the Writings should pass away when Messiah came, yet this Book and the Law should remain.'



Far different has been the Christian attitude. Esther is never quoted in the New Testament, and none of the great Fathers ever expounded it. Luther's avowed hostility to the book, as containing 'too much heathen naughtiness,' is well known. And this hostility is shared by its most recent commentator: 'There is not one noble character in this book. . . . Morally, Esther falls far below the general level of the Old Testament, and even of the Apocrypha' (p. 96). And so far from its being in any degree historical, Dr. Paton doubts 'whether even a historical kernel underlies its narrative. It comes from the same age, and belongs to the same class of literature, as the Jewish romances Daniel, Tobit, Judith . . . ' (p. 75).

But had Esther been the most edifying and the most veracious book of the Canon it could not have received more respectful treatment from an expositor than that bestowed upon it in this admirable commentary. Dr. Paton's work is a monument of erudition and of fine scholarship. In his preface he gives us an interesting peep at his method. The difficulties besetting Esther are not concerned with questions of date or of literary analysis or general interpretation, but with textual criticism. The variations between the Massoretic text and that of the versions—of all sorts—are numerous to an unparalleled extent. 'I soon discovered that ordinary methods of recording readings were inadequate. . . . After a number of experiments I found that the only practical way was to have a separate large card for every word in the Massoretic text, and on this to record the alternate readings. . . . The numerous additions could then be inserted on other cards whenever they interrupted the Massoretic text.'

Dr. Paton's claim that he has in this way secured both completeness and accuracy is amply justified and vindicated. It will be many a long day before the student of the Old Testament desiderates a fuller treatment of the Book of Esther. Even so the author's material is too abundant for the limits imposed on him, and he promises us 'The Story of Esther in the Bible and in Later Tradition.' Such a book should appeal to a wider circle than this exhaustive critical commentary can; it should prove very useful—and very entertaining. The suggestions of the Midrashim as to why Vashti (whom a modern writer describes as 'the only decent character in the book') declined to obey the command of Ahasuerus are comical to a degree.

*The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists.* By F. W. WORSLEY, M.A.,  
B.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1909.) 3s. net.

THE author of this book writes as a whole-hearted believer in the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and in its historical character in the main, though he thinks that St. John made mistakes, *e.g.* that he had a mistaken conception of the character of the incident of the raising of Lazarus—'the lapse of time had completely upset the writer's mental perspective.' Mr. Worsley's main thesis is that the Fourth Gospel was written with reference to the Synoptists, and was intended to supplement them. His method of shewing this is to make a careful comparison of passages in St. John with their Synoptic parallels. The second chapter deals with St. John's omissions: he omits incidents which had been adequately related in the other Gospels. Chapter III. discusses the supplemental details of the Fourth Gospel. St. John wished sometimes to correct the Synoptic account, sometimes to add details which had been there passed over, though they were important. In Chapter IV. Mr. Worsley discusses discrepancies. These are generally due to knowledge on the part of St. John that the Synoptic account was wrong and to a definite intention to correct it. The last four chapters discuss 'Christology,' 'Christ and the People,' 'Matter Peculiar to the Gospel,' and 'Authorship.' Mr. Worsley thinks that a writer who supplemented the Synoptic Gospels in the way that has been described must have been a person of recognized position and authority, and that he was probably the Apostle John.

The careful comparison in this book of parallels in the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel is of value, and will be welcome to many. The book perhaps suffers from a certain warmth of personal conviction and of positive statement which may make it distasteful to those who believe that questions like the authorship of the Fourth Gospel are best discussed dispassionately. And some will finish the book with the question, Would an eye-witness *really* have dealt with the Synoptic Gospels as does this writer according to Mr. Worsley?

*The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel.* By F. GRANT LEWIS, Ph.D. (University of Chicago Press. 1909.)  
54 cents post paid.

THE writer several times describes his work as an 'evaluation' of the testimony of Irenaeus. The ugly word 'evaluation' seems to be used in the sense of 'estimation of the value.'

However that may be, the book is of considerable merit. Some of the conclusions reached are the following: (1) To Irenaeus the author of the Fourth Gospel was an Apostle, John the son of Zebedee. (2) Irenaeus' quotations prove that he had the Fourth Gospel before him in substantially the same form in which we have it. (3) He had also oral traditions received from 'the presbyters.' Some of these he had known, and he valued their traditions even more highly than the written Gospels. To this source is assigned, for example, what Irenaeus says of the age of Jesus. (4) When Irenaeus says (*Eus. H. E. v. 20*) that Polycarp recounted all things in agreement with the writings (*ἀπὸ ἡγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς*), the 'all things' means details of stories related by Polycarp concerning 'the life and teaching' of Jesus as he had heard them from John and others, whilst 'the writings' are neither the Old Testament Scriptures nor the four Gospels, but Johannine writings or booklets.

These points are carefully argued, and are of great importance. If they can be made out, Irenaeus was well acquainted with the facts about John's residence in Asia, and obtained this knowledge not merely from a mistaken reading of Papias, but from oral tradition. Further, the Fourth Gospel as we have it will be a compilation made about the middle of the second century from short, disconnected accounts of Christ's life written down by St. John's disciples, which were current in the time of Polycarp. Such a view of the Gospel explains, according to Mr. Lewis, 'the practical absence of quotations by Justin from the Fourth Gospel.' On the other hand, the theory that Irenaeus supposed that the four Gospels existed in the time of Polycarp 'has the serious difficulty that it must explain how the Fourth Gospel could have existed in the days of Polycarp and yet have no satisfactory attestation before about the year 170.' Mr. Lewis takes this absence of attestation for granted. It seems rather a large assumption in view of the evidence for such attestation as presented, for example, by Dr. Drummond.

The most important sections in the book are the discussion of Irenaeus' relation to 'the presbyters,' and that of the meaning of 'writing' (*γραφῆ*) in *Eus. H. E. v. 20*, but many other points of interest are incidentally discussed, *e.g.* the alleged early martyrdom of St. John. Mr. Lewis reaches the conclusion that John lived to old age in Asia Minor. He occasionally interprets Irenaeus rather harshly. Irenaeus, for example, was mistaken when he said that Luke, 'the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him.' 'The student of the Synoptic Gospels

at the present time does not understand that Luke gained the material for his Gospel from Paul.' But Irenaeus does not assert this. St. Luke no doubt got much of his Gospel from St. Mark and other sources, written and oral. But this does not prevent his Gospel from being that preached by St. Paul. To charge Irenaeus, as Mr. Lewis does twice, with 'a mistake' on this score is absurd.

An obscure sentence in the preface should be rewritten if the book is reprinted. It runs, 'Even when the study of Irenaeus leads to an elimination of his testimony—as the study of Harnack did, the study is recognized as essential and significant.'

## II.—BIBLICAL AND DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

*The Teaching of Jesus about the Future, according to the Synoptic Gospels.* By H. B. SHARMAN, Ph.D. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1909.) 3\$ 26 cents.

DR. SHARMAN'S book is interesting and valuable, if only as illustrating the lengths to which literary criticism may go in the hands of one who prefers the knife to any gentler method. The results of the merciless application of this instrument are sufficiently striking, but the methods of it are even more so; and although one is bound to admire the author for his industry and accuracy, a consideration of both makes one wonder whether after all there is not an interval which separates such canons of criticism from those of common-sense. Let us first look at the results. Jesus foretold three main events—namely, the destruction of Jerusalem, the growth of the Kingdom, and the coming of the Son of Man, in the immediate, the near, and the unknown future respectively; the first of these three events to be preceded and accompanied by the rise of false claimants to the Messiahship and the persecution of the disciples. He taught, too, that resurrection would undoubtedly follow after death, and that the risen life would be a spiritual one like that of the angels; but, on the other hand, He in no way restricted it to the righteous. We are at least justified in saying that He foretells no future punishment for the wicked after this life, for He uses Gehenna simply as the Valley of Hinnom, where the carcasses of the vilest criminals were thrown. The word has no eschatological significance. Nor can any teaching about the future abode of the risen dead, *e.g.* Paradise, or Heaven, be imputed to Jesus. And He never either claimed Himself to be the Judge of mankind, or spoke of a Judgement-day to come.



And to establish these astounding results, what is the method employed? We need not stop to dispute over the use which Dr. Sharman makes of sources, except to say that two at least of the sources he distinguishes have a context which is very far from being settled, while much of the material which he attributes to the Peraean document is attributed by the great majority of Continental scholars to the document known as Q. (called by Dr. Sharman, following Prof. Burton, G.). But more serious is his use of the principle, beneficial enough if soberly employed, of the reduction of variants to a single original. There are many cases where variants can obviously be detected; but Dr. Sharman extends the principle to cover large passages, occurring in different Gospels, in different contexts, and conveying different lessons. Thus the parable of the Talents is transferred to our Lord's final discourse (St. Mark xiii.), where it ousts the command to watch. Likewise, the parable of the Ten Virgins is transferred to the same occasion, and ousts a similar command. Nor are these the only examples of excluding from the circle of authentic sayings of our Lord pieces of material which are not mutually exclusive: they are frequent. Are we to suppose that our Lord discoursed only once during His ministry about the future? And are we to assume that He could only have employed one parable, or one set of words, and that on one occasion only, in order to drive home any particular lesson? Yet this is in fact the hypothesis which underlies a large part of the author's treatment of his sources. Indeed, so convinced is the author that our Lord never taught the existence of future torment, that he boldly excises the whole parable of Dives and Lazarus as a later accretion to His genuine teaching.

But there are yet more general objections which may be urged against Dr. Sharman's treatment of his subject. He is apt to forget (as Wrede, whose conclusions are in the main similar, remembered) that St. Mark's Gospel is a gospel and not merely a source. The writer of it intended to portray in it a single life, a self-consistent character. From the book before us we should never guess that the great Teacher had a life or a character: we should never imagine that He was moving in a circle of passionate eschatological ideas, not all of them by any means unspiritual, refined indeed, among certain classes, by some of the apocalyptic literature of the preceding two centuries: we should never suppose that the fundamental terms of our Lord's teaching—The Kingdom of Heaven, The

Son of Man, Gehenna, The Holy Spirit—had for His hearers a primary eschatological significance ; nor are we allowed to look for one moment at the prophecy and the fact of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus as having possibly an eschatological relation. For the Christ of history we are given a Christ of modern fancy, one whose words are deprived of all that is stern and fearful, and whose Person may attract us, but cannot make us tremble.

*The Doctrine of the Last Things ; Jewish and Christian.* By W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (John Murray. 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book gives a most useful collection of material for the study of Eschatology. It does not, however, go further, and the use made of the material must be left to the reader. This does not prevent the book being of value so far as the ground which it covers is concerned ; but one could wish that the complex problems raised by the study of Eschatology with reference to the Synoptic Gospels had received more adequate treatment. Why, for instance, is there no discussion of the very important thesis advanced in connexion with the eschatological chapter, St. Mark xiii., by Holtzmann, Colani, and others, who claim to find incorporated in that chapter a fragment of a Jewish apocalypse ?

*A Critical Examination of the Evidences for the Doctrine of the Virgin Birth.* By THOMAS JAMES THORBURN, M.A., LL.D. (London : S.P.C.K. 1908.) 2s. 6d.

THIS is a very careful and systematic examination of the evidence concerning the Virgin Birth of our Lord. Dr. Thorburn states and discusses with great impartiality the evidence contained in the Canonical Gospels, in St. Ignatius, Aristides, St. Justin Martyr, Tatian, Melito, and St. Irenaeus ; and gives a clear account of the arguments which may be used in favour of and against the various interpretations of the evidence which have been suggested. Seven appendices are added : they are on 'the earliest Roman Symbol,' 'the Birth-story in the apocryphal Gospels,' 'the rest of the New Testament and the Virgin Birth, and the Incarnation and the Virgin Birth,' a 'list of passages in the later ante-Nicene fathers referring to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth,' 'Isaiah's Birth Prophecy,' 'mythological theories of the origin of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth,' and 'Parthenogenesis in nature, with some recent experiments in "artificial Parthenogenesis."' The book will be very valuable to those who wish to

examine the subject critically but are not able to collect for themselves the evidence, the different theories which have been formed to account for it, and the arguments by which these have been supported.

*The Resurrection of Jesus.* By JAMES ORR, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Theology at the Theological College of the United Free Church, Glasgow. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.)

DR. ORR'S work in the sphere of controversial theology is well known. As becomes a Professor of Apologetics, he loves a stiff encounter with strong opponents, and the fiercer the battle, the better he is pleased. In his method of dealing with all-comers, he reminds us of a predecessor of his in the Chair of Apologetics, the late Dr. A. B. Bruce. One after another he challenges his adversaries, only to defeat and rout them, or to leave them for dead upon the field. The present book is polemical from end to end, and we cannot help saying that the polemic is, on the whole, successful. The most severe treatment is reserved for Professor Lake, whose work on *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ* supplies Dr. Orr with a fruitful theme for criticism. And, in case anyone should incline to be led away by the subtleties of the Leyden Professor, it is as well that those subtleties should be exposed in the clearest possible form. We remember thinking—and Dr. Orr confirms our impression—that to treat the Gospel records as Professor Lake has treated them, cross-examining in the spirit of a counsel for the prosecution heckling an Old Bailey witness, is as unfair as Lord Macaulay's dissection of the poems of Robert Montgomery—and all this in the interest of a series of unverified and unverifiable hypotheses. Yet we wish that Dr. Orr had not taken up so many of his pages with the refutation of opponents. That is work which has to be done sometimes, no doubt, but we wonder whether the cause of the faith is really served by it so much as by a book like *The Risen Master*, which seems to breathe the very atmosphere of Christianity, or by Dr. Orr's own short chapter on the doctrinal bearings of the Resurrection. The pulverizing of people who hold the contrary view seems to argue a certain timidity on the part of the author, a reluctance to allow the methods of criticism which have done so much to illuminate the meaning of the Old Testament to be applied to the New. Dr. Orr is unwilling to admit the literary dependence of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke on that of St. Mark, though the admission matters little when we have to deal with the narratives

of the Resurrection : he is begging the whole question when he says (p. 72, note 2) ' in all the Synoptics certain groups or chains of events are linked together in the same way, *evidently as the result of traditional connexion*,' and he is hardly justified in saying (p. 85) that ' the Gospel of St. Matthew, if not directly the work of that Apostle, must have been written by one in such close intimacy with the Apostle . . . that his Gospel ever after passed as St. Matthew's own,' or in treating the authorship of St. Peter, of the Epistle of St. James, and of the Apocalypse, as unquestioned (pp. 210-211), or in his unwillingness to allow anything in the way of discrepancies in the varied accounts of the women visitors to the tomb (c. V.). A rigid conservatism such as this, while it gives a handle to destructive criticism, weakens the value of his arguments for those who would otherwise accept them.

One of the best things in the book is Chapter II., on the miraculous character of the Resurrection. Dr. Orr says (p. 53) : ' There is no evading the issue with which this confronts us, of an actual, miraculous economy of revelation in history. This assuredly was no exception—a single hole drilled in the ordinary uniform course of nature, without antecedents in what had gone before, and consequents in what was to follow. It belongs to a divine system in which miracles must be conceived as interwoven from the beginning.' This is well put. We hold the truth of the uniformity of nature, but we are not thereby compelled to reject miracles because, to the physical order, they are supernatural. There may be junctures, at which (as Dr. Strong has said) ' the moral end which nature itself reveals requires a more flexible instrument than the order of nature.'

The book is admirably written, and clear both in its arrangement and its argument. The only obscurity which we have noted is a certain confusion in the account of the Resurrection Body ; but we welcome what we conceive to be Dr. Orr's final statement on the subject (p. 286), in which he repudiates the idea of the Resurrection ' as necessarily the raising again of the very material form that was deposited in the grave.' There is a slight error on p. 208 (note 3), where St. Paul's ' defence before Lysias ' should be his ' defence before the mob at Jerusalem,' and a slight misprint on p. 251, where ' Babyloniana ' should be ' Babylonian.'

*Studies in the Resurrection of Christ: An Argument.* By C. H. ROBINSON, M.A. (Longmans. 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book is intended, as its author himself tells us in his preface, to be supplementary to his previous work called *Studies in the*



*Character of Christ.* We are reminded at the beginning of it that the method of the old apologists is out of date, and that, instead of alleging the fact of the Resurrection as a proof that Christ is the Son of God, we must reverse the process and use the knowledge which we have, by other means, gained of the character of Christ 'as a proof that the Resurrection cannot be regarded as *à priori* inconceivable.' With such a point of view we cannot help being in sympathy. Yet, when we turn to the remaining chapters of the book and see how Canon Robinson works out his plan, we feel very much disappointed. For the use to which he has put his study of the character of Jesus Christ is principally this, that, as we have learnt from the Gospels to believe in His entire truthfulness, there can exist for us 'no stronger proof for the fact of the Resurrection than His own assertion that such would occur.' We hold as strongly as does Mr. Robinson that our Lord foretold not once but several times during His ministry that He would rise again, though we think that the evidence for such a conclusion given on page 31 is much overstated, both the passages quoted from St. Luke and three of the five passages quoted from St. Matthew being drawn from the Marcan narrative. Yet, even if it were in the fullest sense true that each of the evangelists does ascribe to Christ on several different occasions the definite declaration that He would die and, after a short interval, rise again, that would not carry us very far. Its *evidential* value for the Christian apologist can be but slight. We think that the author has unduly depreciated the direct evidence of the New Testament. At no point are the four Gospel records more independent of each other than in the chapters in which they deal with the Resurrection, and this notwithstanding the fragmentary ending of St. Mark. Hence their agreement as to the fact is all the more remarkable. Further, the evidence of the Acts, which the author has strangely neglected, must surely be taken into account. From first to last—whether St. Luke is drawing on the recollections of St. Paul, or on the Aramaic source which seems to underlie his early chapters—the proof given by that wonderful book is definite and precise. The Resurrection is its constant theme, as it was the doctrine which the new Apostle was chosen to proclaim. This omission is a real blemish in the book.

With much that the author says we are in cordial agreement. He deals frankly and fearlessly with opponents who wilfully go on misrepresenting the Christian belief in the Resurrection (p. 10); he seems to hit the truth in his discussions as to the empty tomb (pp. 17-21), or as to the relation of Christ's

Resurrection Body to our own (pp. 58-60)—a subject developed with great success in one of the *Cambridge Theological Essays*—or as to the proof afforded by the early institution and observance of the Christian Sunday (pp. 109-110). But the general impression left on us by the book is that we have not been much helped towards a better understanding or a firmer grasp of this cardinal doctrine. We have had a good many isolated points brought to our notice, a good many isolated passages discussed, but we have learnt but little from the exegesis; and in some cases the conclusion adopted seems very doubtful: *e.g.* in spite of Professor Huxley, we still believe that the traditional explanation of 1 Cor. xv. 32 is the right one, and even the three weighty names quoted in Appendix B do not convince us as to the author's interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 37. Dr. Latham's words contained in Appendix C are interesting, but do not really bear on the argument. The weakness of the whole book lies in the long catena of quotations. If only the author had written his own views consecutively, he might have given us something not only readable but valuable; as it is, he has given us something which, while it aims at being both popular and learned, is in reality neither.

*The Atonement.* By the Rev. JAMES STALKER, D.D., Professor of Church History and Christian Ethics in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) 2s. 6d. net.

THESE three excellent lectures were delivered at Inverness in October 1908 on the foundation of the MacDonald of Ferintosh Trust. Dr. Stalker treats in them of 'the New Testament Situation,' 'the Old Testament Preparation,' and 'the Modern Justification.' The knowledge and grasp of the subject, the clearness of thought and expression, the devout and reverent spirit, shewn in them deserve very high commendation. A valuable feature is the passage in which Dr. Stalker points out that the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, if it is not to lead to mistakes, needs to be viewed in connexion with other truths. We are inclined to think that a more complete attention to a like fact—namely, that the doctrine of the Atonement itself needs to be held in correlation with other truths—might lessen the sense of the difference which Dr. Stalker feels between his own teaching and that of the Council of Trent. There is an admirable expression

of a main thought of the lectures in the concluding sentence of the first :

‘If there are those wishing to bear the Christian name who believe that Jesus was only the child of Joseph and Mary, and that He never rose out of the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathaea, then we frankly concede to them that His death cannot have been anything like what we call the Atonement ; but, if this Man was, in his His origin and destiny, all that the New Testament represents Him to be, then it harmonizes with the entire phenomenon to believe that His death, besides being the key to the mystery of His earthly fortunes, was a transcendent act, effecting for human beings in the world unseen a change by which they have been secured both their peace with God here and their unending felicity hereafter ; and this objective result of the death of Christ, anterior to our experience, yet requiring to be appropriated in experience, is the primary benefit and virtue of the Atonement.’

In a book of so real and solid value Dr. Stalker might have been content to omit the three pages of severe criticism of Lord Halsbury’s judgement in the law-suit concerning the property of the United Free Church. The point that he criticizes was not unnaturally aggravating ; but it might well have been left to be forgotten.

*A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.* By T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S. R. With notes by H. THURSTON, S.J. (London : T. Fisher Unwin, and Burns and Oates. 1908.) 21s. net.

THIS new edition of Father Bridgett’s book, first published in 1881, differs considerably from the earliest form. The text has been re-arranged and shortened ; some passages have been omitted ; new references to recent works have been added ; illustrations of interest, including a reproduction of Albert Dürer’s Mass of St. Gregory the Great, are given ; there is one folio volume of excellent print and paper instead of the former two smaller volumes ; and there are supplementary footnotes and some other additions from the pen of Father Thurston. Not all the mistakes in the original edition have been corrected ; we notice, for instance, the statement—in itself unlikely and unsupported by evidence <sup>1</sup>—that Mass was formerly celebrated on the tower of Magdalen College in memory of the visit of King Henry VII. Among the more

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., the article by the Rev. H. A. Wilson in *The Colleges of Oxford* (ed. A. Clark), p. 239. The authority cited for Father Bridgett’s statement is Ackermann’s *History of the University of Oxford*, i. 251 (not 257, as printed both in the edition of 1881 and the present one).

interesting of the additions are the notes in which Father Thurston states his opinion, which he defended at length in the *Tablet* in October and November 1907, that the elevation of the Sacrament at the words 'This is My body' was originally due to the dispute among the Paris theologians whether the consecration of the species of bread was effected at the recital of those words or not until the corresponding words relating to the chalice; mentions instances of churches in England which 'seem to have obtained indulgences alleged to be identical with those attached to the altar of the chapel of the Scala Caeli at Tre Fontane, outside the walls of Rome'; and discusses the attitude of Christians towards the reserved Sacrament in early times and in the East at the present day. In the last-mentioned note Father Thurston says: 'In all the Christian literature of the first thousand years no one has apparently yet found a single clear and definite statement that any person visited a church in order to pray before the body of Christ which was kept upon the altar.' Is not the passage in the *Orations* of St. Gregory of Nazianzus,<sup>1</sup> in which he describes how in her illness his sister Gorgonia by night 'betook herself to the Physician of all,' and 'fell down before the altar in faith, calling on Him who is honoured thereon,' such an instance?

*The Bible Doctrine of the Sacraments.* Six Lectures given in Westminster Abbey. By H. C. BEECHING, M.A., D.Litt., Canon of Westminster. (London: John Murray. 1908.) 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is a sequel to the two series of lectures on *The Apostles' Creed* and *The Bible Doctrine of Atonement* by the same author. As in them the aim has been 'to interest and instruct those brethren of the laity who, with leisure to give their minds to such matters, have had no special theological training.' The subjects of the lectures are 'the sacramental principle,' 'Baptism,' 'Infant Baptism and Confirmation,' 'the Eucharist: the Lord's own teaching,' 'the Eucharist: the apostolic teaching,' 'the Eucharist: its primitive celebration'; and two sermons, one on 'Symbols,' the other on 'Discernment,' are added. Both lectures and sermons have the clearness and interest which characterize Dr. Beeching's work; and as giving positive constructive teaching on a Scriptural basis they are likely to be most useful to the classes of readers for whom they

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.* viii. 18. Gorgonia's touching of her body with the Sacrament shews that it was our Lord's sacramental presence which she had sought in the church.



are intended. The table of contents includes an admirable summary of the lectures.

Unlike most Anglican writers, Dr. Beeching fully and frankly allows that the restriction of Confirmation in the Church of England to those who have reached years of discretion is a departure from the practice of the early Church as well as from later historical custom. His defence of 'this bold course,' based on the assertion that 'in so doing the Reformed Church was virtually going back to apostolical custom and Scriptural principles,' does not seem to us convincing; and, whatever its weight against Infant Confirmation, would fail to justify the usual requirements of English bishops of some such age as thirteen or fourteen. In regard to the Eucharist, the solution of the difficulties which lead him to distinguish the rite from a sacrifice as being rather 'a feast upon a sacrifice already made,' and to represent both it and our Lord's work in heaven as 'not propitiation' but proceeding upon 'the basis of propitiation already accomplished,' might be better found in a more extended idea of what sacrifice and propitiation really mean; and such an extension would be so much in harmony with many features of Dr. Beeching's thought and phraseology that we are not a little surprised that he does not adopt it. The book, then, has its blemishes; but they do not prevent it from being an excellent piece of work.

*The Church of Christ: its true definition.* Contributors: HUBERT BROOKE, M.A., D. M. MCINTYRE, H. W. WEBB-PEPLOE, M.A., W. FULLER GOOCH, JOHN WILSON, JAMES ORR, D.D., A. E. BARNES-LAWRENCE, M.A., DINSDALE T. YOUNG, HARRINGTON C. LEES, M.A. Preface by the Very Rev. the DEAN OF CANTERBURY. (London: Robert Scott. 1908.) 2s. 6d. net.

THESE ten Addresses were delivered last year at the sixty-first annual Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. They are described by the Dean of Canterbury in the Preface as 'a call by evangelical pastors to revert to' the 'spiritual ministry' as a work for 'the salvation of men's souls,' 'their deliverance from sin here and hereafter by faith in Christ and in His sacrifice,' and 'the purification of their souls by the Holy Spirit,' and to 'rely on the Scriptures as God's word in this spiritual work.' So far as the Addresses supply positive teaching and exhortation on these lines, we are able very cordially to welcome the publication of them; and we thankfully recognize the devout and earnest tone by which they are marked. This earnestness and devotion

makes the bitter polemical and controversial spirit which appears in some places—not throughout the book—the more painful. The theological standpoint is not our own; and in many other matters there is much with which we cannot agree. For instance, it is difficult to maintain that in the Bible ‘from Genesis i. to Revelation xxii. we are to take every single word as coming direct from God Almighty’; the notion, used as a basis and strongly emphasized in one Address, that ‘the underlying thought’ of the word *ecclesia* ‘is that of calling out’ is hardly capable of defence; many good Christians will not assent to the view that it was necessarily wrong in an officer who had been converted to attend a regimental ball.

*The Authority of Christ.* Third edition. By D. W. FORREST, D.D. (T. and T. Clark. 1909.) 6s.

BETWEEN Biblical Scholarship on the one hand and Philosophy of Religion on the other, there is ample room, and not a little need, for such plain and direct handling of theological ideas as this book affords us. More and more does it become clear that Christianity must win its way and maintain its hold by its intrinsic reasonableness: and nothing is more important, if only from that point of view, than that accretions should be separated from the substance by well-trained minds that have assimilated the essence of the historic faith. Such a need is well met by Dr. Forrest's book. It is not a massive contribution to the progress of religious thought. It has neither the advantages nor the disadvantages of philosophical prepossession. It is clear and strong, and to many a theological student, just beginning to think for himself, it might prove just what is needed. And not for such only. It should afford real assistance to many of us in thinking out the logic of our position—to how much our creed commits us, and how its principles may be applied to various questions that lie around it.

Dr. Forrest discusses in the first chapter the Recognition of Christ as the Incarnate Son, and forcibly re-states the grounds for our conviction of His sinlessness. Dealing with the basis of our Lord's authority, he well says: ‘Christ speaks with authority, not primarily because His conception of God satisfies our thought, but because He quickens the impulses and resolves that impel us towards a divine communion.’ This sentence gives a good illustration of the writer's method. It is characterized by that higher empiricism which keeps to facts, but primarily to spiritual facts; and so, in good hands, is always helpful, even if it does not

go on to the formulation of a system of religious philosophy. (See also, for instance, a very good paragraph on the Mediatorship, pp. 36-38.)

There is one remark that we would make on the passage relating to the Divine Personality at the end of this chapter. Dr. Forrest uses that vague unsatisfactory language on the subject which, in orthodox theologians, seems to us so uncalled for. Granted that the nature of God is beyond our *full* comprehension, why say merely that 'to ascribe personality to Him is at least to *look in the direction of the final truth regarding Him*'? What is gained by the reservation that the judgement which ascribes it has 'a real, though not perfect, correspondence to objective truth'? The idea of a God whom our thought can only *approach* is an untenable compromise with Spencerian Agnosticism, which of course is remote from Dr. Forrest's thoughts. Strange to say, the true correction of such language is to be found in Lotze's famous argument (*Microcosmus*, Bk. x., c. 4), which Dr. Forrest himself cites with evident approval.

Dr. Forrest goes on (c. II.) to criticize the illegitimate extension of Christ's authority. His remarks will receive general assent from the modern theological mind. He maintains the Kenotic doctrine, though without entering upon any speculative discussion. In the subsequent chapters he deals with Christ's Authority on God, on Individual Duty, on Corporate Duty, and on Human Destiny; concluding with a chapter on the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit. The ethical nature of man is a central and determining idea in Dr. Forrest's teaching. In fact, in one place (p. 115) he is, if we understand him rightly, less successful in reasoning *to* this idea than *from* it: the argument amounts to something like a *petitio principii*.

One or two further points may be noted. We do not think much is gained by discussing the question of Church Establishment in a broad and general manner. The term is really a relative one; and the conception of a spiritual society *in* yet not *of* the world, while so illuminating on its theological side, is too elusive in its direct application to these practical problems to be employed in the easy clear-cut way that characterizes Dr. Forrest's use of it. Church Establishment is one thing in England; another in Scotland; another in India. Dr. Forrest himself has to deprecate a 'pedantic' application of his principles. Would it not be better to think out those principles more closely?

In the last chapter the essentially redemptive character of the Incarnation, even as against Westcott's view (sometimes

misunderstood), is maintained. The author regards it as purely redemptive in import, though not, as it were, an afterthought. He even uses the expression 'the cessation of His incarnate state,' in reference to the promise of the Comforter. But surely, upon either hypothesis, such an idea, if admissible at all, ought only to be connected with that of the final consummation.

*A Catholic Atlas or Digest of Catholic Theology, comprehending Fundamentals of Religion, Summary of Catholic Doctrine, Means of Grace, Perfection with its Rules and Counsels, Worship and its Laws.* By the RIGHT REV. CHARLES C. GRAFTON, S.T.D., Bishop of Fond du Lac. (New York and London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1908.) 10s. 6d. net.

THIS elaborate and extensive book consists of short statements on the subjects mentioned in the title placed in analytical form. It may be of service as a basis for study. It has the merits and the faults which naturally go with the method of composition. It is clear and systematic; and to master it throughout would impart a very strong grasp on the main principles of Christian doctrine and worship and life. On the other hand, some of its statements are expressed with a definiteness and positiveness difficult to justify, and a tendency to impose interpretations which are desired apart from the history of documents is not absent. For instance, it is positively stated that 'the forty days of fasting with which' our Lord 'entered on His ministry had so reduced His body that at His crucifixion they jeered at His emaciated figure'; the kneeling of the priest at the Confession and that at the Prayer of Humble Access in the Order of Holy Communion are said to be mystically representative of our Lord kneeling in the Garden of Gethsemane and falling on His way to Calvary; and the delay in consuming the Sacrament after the Communion of the people, and the saying of the *Gloria in excelsis* while it is still unconsumed, in the Anglican rite are said to shew that 'it would be contrary to the spirit of the Prayer-book so to prescribe the manner of Reservation as to prevent the devotional use of it by the faithful.' We hope that those who use the book will carefully consider whether a right belief in the divine guidance of the Church really necessitates such a statement as that 'the opinion of scholars who live outside of this sphere of divine illumination [that is, 'the Holy Apostolic Catholic Church'] is more likely to be erroneous the more intellectual they are.'



*La Théologie scolastique et la Transcendance du Surnaturel.*  
Par H. LIGEARD. (Paris: Beauchesne et Cie. 1909.)  
1 fr. 50 c.

THE inevitable work of explaining and explaining away the Encyclical *Pascendi* is well begun. To Englishmen the procedure is familiar in another connexion: an Act of Parliament is usually a crude and violent expression of a governing will, which is afterwards reduced to order and sense by the cool dialectic of the law courts; the result is often remote from the impulsive purpose of the legislature. In the same way the perilous facility of dogmatic definition resulting from the theory and practice of the Papacy is controlled by the labour of theologians. In our own day the extravagances of the Syllabus of 1864 have been rendered comparatively harmless and 'of little meaning, though the words are strong,' and the Vatican definition of Infallibility is commonly interpreted in a sense that would have astonished both its advocates and their opponents. The ordinary course is now being followed. The violence of Pius X. and the crudities of his theological advisers at first struck reasonable men with dismay; but reasonable men speedily recovered their wits and are already interpreting the document. The work is wearisome and endless, but it has the good result of ruling out extravagances. It is not too much to say that the errors finally discredited by such fulminations of authority are precisely those which generated the explosion. The Encyclical *Pascendi* will ultimately destroy not so much the heresy of 'Modernism' as the blunders of its frightened opponents.

A detail of this procedure is found in a little volume written by the Abbé Ligeard, Professor of Apologetic in the École de Théologie at Lyons. He is scrupulously orthodox, and quotes the Encyclical as an irrefragable authority. He allows himself a contemptuous side-glance at the methods of certain eager partisans:

'Est-il besoin de dire qu'en critiquant ici la critique de E. Le Roy, je n'entends en aucune façon user du procédé qui consiste à édifier son orthodoxie personnelle sur la condamnation d'autrui: cela est peu chrétien; mais, m'étant trouvé en désaccord absolu avec sa façon de juger les choses, je le dis sincèrement et sans arrière-pensée.'

The temper and the state of things produced by the Encyclical are admirably illustrated by the fact that M. Ligeard should think it necessary to protest his innocence of such infamy, but

he avoids all direct conflict with the authors of the trouble. And what is his argument ?

Recent apologetic has made great use of the method of Immanence, and at this the Encyclical struck fiercely. M. Ligeard wishes to rescue this method. He seeks to do so by inventing a 'théorie de l'Immanence religieuse,' which he assumes to be the real thing condemned in the Encyclical. The 'erreur subtile' to be opposed is 'celle qui pense tirer de l'âme religieuse le contenu et le développement total de ce qui constitue pour elle la religion.' The error seems to be rather obvious than subtle ; the puzzle is to find anyone, professing Christianity, who has been drawn into it. M. Ligeard suggests that the term *Immanence* itself suggests this meaning. Possibly it may ; but to press the point is to lose oneself in the etymological fallacy ; nobody in point of fact uses the word in that sense. M. Ligeard himself, to save the word for orthodox use, distinguishes between the 'méthode de l'Immanence' and the 'théorie de l'Immanence.' The method really exists, and has a conformable theory ; the theory supposed by M. Ligeard is a thing set up to throw stones at. Thus he tries to rehabilitate the method which is practically necessary for modern apologetic. But to protect his rear he must bring the method into close connexion with the scholastic tradition. This is a difficult task, and he performs it with no small skill.

He examines the scholastic doctrine of nature and grace, of the natural and the supernatural, distinguishing three schools, the Thomist, the Scotist, and the Augustinian school which rose and flourished in France during the seventeenth century. The *appetitus innatus* of the Scotists, the *convenance morale* of the Augustinians, or the moral necessity of a supernatural end for man arising out of God's goodness, afford him material ; but he relies chiefly on the Thomist contention that grace is not a new creation but a transformation of nature, and on the *potentia obedientialis* of the School. He brings this last into touch with modern thought as 'une énergie potentielle.' Cajetan and Suarez justify him in eliminating the *status purae naturae* as a mere abstraction ; he is able to take as starting-point 'la nature telle qu'elle est, avec ce que Dieu a mis en elle d'inclination à cette fin suprême.' This done, he proceeds to shew how an apologetic suitable for our day can be constructed in the language of the School. A clever piece of work, and useful ; but the true nature of its usefulness should be recognized. It contains nothing of direct apologetic : it aims at shewing how a cautious dialectician

may commend Christianity to modern men without incurring too burdensome a suspicion of heresy. Whether it will be allowed to be successful is another question.

*The Holy Angels.* By the Rev. JOHN E. HULL, Vicar of Ninebanks. (S.P.C.K. 1909.) 1s. 6d.

THIS modest volume supplies a real need, and is, so far as can be ascertained, the most complete and concise existing presentation of all the statements in Scripture regarding the Holy Angels. Besides dealing with the question of their Orders and Hierarchy, the treatment of their Being, in the various books of the Bible, is carefully collated and compared. The conclusions arrived at are suggestive, and several of them are not only sound, but striking. The writings and speculations on this great subject of Dionysius the Areopagite, Thomas Aquinas, and Dante are not ignored, though to deal with them exhaustively falls, naturally, outside the scope of the book. The association of angels with the workings of natural phenomena and the great forces of the material world is full of interest, and leads one to regret the apparent unfamiliarity of the writer with Bishop Martensen's book on Jacob Behmen. Behmen's thesis of the creation of the perfect *kosmos* for the race of angelic beings, its fall into chaos through their fall, and the restoration that has to be effected, is closely akin (though it may not be sympathetically apprehended) to this very fruitful suggestion.

### III. PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

*Studies in Mystical Religion.* By RUFUS M. JONES, D.Litt., Haverford College, U.S.A. (Macmillan. 1909.) 12s.

FOR Dr. Rufus Jones the historical Church of Christ is nothing but an 'ecclesiastical system with inalienable magic rites'; that is to say, when it is not in addition the seat and symbol of corruption and persecution. As may be expected, therefore, his present volume is sadly bigoted, and wholly free from the balance of mind, the freedom of outlook, and the deep historical sense, of the great mystical master who has so recently established that one of the integral and essential elements of a balanced religion is Institutionalism. But among those who wholly find in pure Pragmatism and Empiricism the solution of all religious difficulty, it is not likely that the depth and breadth of Baron von Hügel's mental methods will meet with appreciation.

Dr. Jones finds his mystical heroes chiefly among those who have denounced or defied the Church ; and various chapters and passages on the Waldenses, Anabaptists, Brethren of the Free Spirit, and so on, proclaim and illustrate the one-sidedness of his sympathies. In no single passage does he give evidence of any sound, critical recognition of the historical Church, and it is not too much to say that he is totally unaware of its essential existence.

In an interesting discussion on Rulman Merswin and the problematic identity of the ' Friend of God from the Oberland,' he cites many authorities in support of the various theories and, while not pronouncing definitely himself, maintains that the literature of that time, and of those religious bodies, cannot be taken as historical material, but that it is ' tendency-literature, full of fictitious situations,' and that its main value lies in enabling us to discern the prevailing ideas and ideals of the mystical groups of the period. For instance, he sets aside as wholly untenable, the well-known story of the mystical conversion of Tauler ; and asserts that ' the central idea embodied in the episode is the extraordinary influence of a holy layman when he has been illuminated by the Divine Spirit.' Dr. Jones does not make it clear why it is not at least equally likely that the central idea should be that of ' proving the things that transcend,' and that the call may come to forsake even the good ' things that are behind.'

There is a good deal of material in the book that is not met with in other treatises on Mysticism ; and both Erigena and Eckhart are fully dealt with in a manner that implies greater acquaintance with first-hand, or the best second-hand, authority than is often found. The book will probably have a large acceptance among those who agree with it already ; but it is not calculated to bring them to a fuller or saner outlook upon the truth.

*The Incarnate Purpose.* By G. H. PERCIVAL. (Williams and Norgate. 1908.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE best thing in this little book, which is otherwise inclined to be rather vague and nebulous, is the treatment of the problem of pain. In times when we are all somewhat inclined to be affected by Christian science ideas of the intrinsic evil of pain and suffering, it is well to be reminded of the other side. Mr. Percival writes excellently on the principle of vicarious suffering and fellowship in pain and sacrifice, which permeates the universe and, for those who look deep enough, is in no way inconsistent



with a God of Love. 'Like Christ,' he says, 'we must be perfected through suffering.' The rest of the book is not distinguished, though its object—to shew how we can be sure of God's presence in the world—is sensible enough. Mr. Percival personifies 'Ecclesiasticism' in an irritating way, and never troubles to explain his meaning. All that we learn is that science, which has no quarrel with Christianity, is waging with 'Ecclesiasticism' one of the most important controversies of the age, mainly with regard to the 'fitness of evidence as a legitimate text of truth.' We hope Mr. Percival will abandon this kind of thing before he writes another book. It means nothing at all in the form in which he has put it. Mr. Percival's attitude to Christ is reverent, though not adequately Christian, and we fear he might find, if he searched a little deeper, that the 'simplicity and beauty' of Christ's teaching has sometimes more in common with the Ecclesiasticism he dislikes and does not understand than he would care to discover. If the author would but think out the significance of the phrase 'the passion of Incarnate Love,' for which he displays a partiality, he might come to see that Christian dogma is neither so irrational nor so alien to his own sympathies as at present he imagines.

*Buddhist Essays.* By PAUL DAHLKE. Translated from the German by BHIKKHU SILACARA. (London: Macmillan. 1909.) 10s.

THESE valuable essays place before us quite clearly the central conceptions of Southern Buddhism—of that Buddhism with which Europeans are most familiar and which is ordinarily believed to embody the orthodox tradition. They derive an additional value from the fact that they are based not merely upon the author's personal study of the Pali texts, but also upon the interpretations accepted by competent native scholars in Ceylon and Burma. They are as free as possible from the unfamiliar vocabulary and difficult dialectic of Indian philosophy.

According to Herr Dahlke, Buddhism is a practical rather than a speculative construction. It is primarily a way of deliverance, and its theories are incidental to its precepts. It is not, and does not profess to be, a reasoned body of metaphysic. Many questions that seem to us vital are beyond its scope. Its fundamental thought is that of universal causation. Everything that exists is at once a cause and an effect—a moment in a universal process of *Becoming*. Everything is transient, and therefore life is sorrow. Even its joys bring sorrow, for they are

all transient, and to lose joy (to lose that which one loves) entails sorrow.

If Becoming be universal, then human personality is a form of Becoming. It has a merely transient and apparent reality : it is a passing phenomenon in a universe of phenomena. The proximate reality is a group of elements held together by Karma (Kamma). What is Karma ? It is the universal law of causation as operative in human life. Every deed is at once cause and effect, and its effect follows upon it by a necessary and inevitable consequence. Human action comes from volition (desire). From desire comes act, from act comes effect, and every effect is in its turn a cause—is a moment in a process of Becoming. Every act is, we may say, an affirmation of the will to live, and every affirmation of that will has (as its necessary effect) the perpetuation of life. So long, then, as we will (desire), we are involved in transiency and therefore in sorrow. The very recognition of this, however, points to a way of escape. If everything be transient, there are no permanent objects and no permanent personalities. This, we are told, cuts at the roots of desire. If personality be an effect, then it and its volitions can be extinguished. 'Willing can only come to pass where there is *I*-consciousness—that is to say, willing is founded upon a misconception of the true nature of things, upon an ignorance. With this ignorance (*Avijja*) all begins. . . . If this ignorance passes into true knowledge, into the knowledge of *I* as not-*I* (*Anatta*), with it the necessity of willing passes into non-willing. When there is no longer any will present there is no longer any deed. When deed fails, fails also the consequence of deed.' When we cease to will (to desire), the chain of causes and effects is terminated and the result is Nirvana (*Nibbana*). This result is attainable here and now. Nirvana is not Heaven ; it is not union with the Supreme Life. It is merely a state in which desire has ceased. When that state is reached, the body continues for a time to exist, for it is the effect of past acts, but, because the will to live is extinguished, causation (*Karma*) has come to an end. Now Karma is (we are told) the bond which holds certain elements together in the form of personality. When Karma ceases to be operative there is no renewal of personality. Obviously, however, this cessation is, *ex hypothesi*, the cessation of a *phenomenal form*. What survives ? This question is deliberately put aside as irrelevant. It is enough for us to know that the cessation of personality involves the cessation of desire, of transient experiences, of sorrow. Buddhism proffers a

way of escape, not the satisfaction of our speculative curiosity. It shews how to escape the sorrow of transience; concerning matters which lie beyond the range of its demonstration it is silent.

In his nineteenth essay Herr Dahlke gives us an interesting account of the awakening brought about in Cingalese Buddhism by the advance of Christianity and of the decline of Burmese Buddhism before our Western education. The last essay in the book attempts to define the 'world-mission' of Buddhism. In Herr Dahlke's opinion it has such a mission, but only or chiefly to those who have lost faith in God.

In more than one place the author brings clearly to light the radical contrast between Christian and Buddhist ideals.

*Bouddhisme : Opinions sur l'histoire de la Dogmatique.* By L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. (Paris: Beauchesne et Cie. 1909.) 4 fr. 25 c.

IN this book we have a series of lectures which were delivered last year at L'Institut Catholique in Paris by a Professor of the University of Ghent, who is one of the contributors to Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

The distinguishing feature of the book is the space given to forms of Buddhism which Herr Dahlke barely mentions. It is well known that the Buddhism of Central Asia is very different from the Buddhism of Ceylon. Southern Buddhism would save by knowledge: in some forms of Northern Buddhism salvation is by faith. Southern Buddhism is agnostic: in Northern Buddhism various transformations of the conception of Buddha bring us in one direction to the verge of Theism, and in another direction to the verge of Pantheism. Southern Buddhism points man to Nirvana: Northern Buddhism to Buddhahood—to a state wherein perfect enlightenment is joined to limitless compassion for the sufferings of men. In Northern Buddhism, in fact, we have the remains of a very important development of Buddhist thought which departed widely from the type that became orthodox in the South. That development is full of interest for students of more than one kind. The student of religion will be interested in the conception of vicarious suffering, in the transition from Nirvana to Paradise, from knowledge to faith, from the most severe agnosticism to something like idolatry on the one hand and something like Pantheism on the other. The student of philosophy will be interested in the transition from the doctrine of transience to the doctrine of 'the void,'

and to extreme forms of speculative nihilism and idealism. Both will be interested in Tantrism, wherein nihilism and idealism are connected with magic and with obscene modes of realizing identity with an almost pantheistically conceived Buddha.

Upon all these topics M. Poussin writes briefly indeed, but clearly and informingly, and he tells us much that is not so well or so fully told in ordinary English books. Not the least valuable part of his work is his attempt to shew the historical ground and the textual foundations in the Buddhist scriptures of these late and seemingly aberrant developments. He devotes one illuminating section to the Sautrantikas, whose thought was an interesting half-way house to idealism, and another to certain ancient thinkers, mentioned in the Buddhist writings, who affirmed the permanence of personality. In opposition to several European and Eastern authorities, M. Poussin believes these 'personalists' to have been Buddhists.

*The Inward Light.* By H. FIELDING HALL. (London: Macmillan and Co.) 10s.

IN this book the author gives us a series of idyllic pictures of Burmese life and what purports to be an account of Burmese Buddhism. The pictures are full of interest and are set forth with no small literary charm—a charm which will undoubtedly attract and satisfy many readers. The exposition, too, is interesting, but is it an exposition of Buddhism? We read of an Infinite Life—perfect, we gather, from all eternity—which gradually expresses itself through the ascending grades of a cosmic evolution. The Buddhist life is the highest term of that evolution, but it presupposes the others and seems to be in some way their complement and (it may be) their fulfilment. It is the *completion* of a cosmic process rather than a way of escape from that process. This is interesting: many will find it attractive; but is it Buddhism? Is it not rather a variant produced by the influence upon Buddhism of foreign ideas?

#### IV.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

*Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire, A.D. 69-70.* By B. W. HENDERSON. (Macmillan and Co. 1908.) 8s. 6d. net.

WHEN Mr. Henderson published his history of the reign of Nero a very general hope was expressed that he would continue his



studies into the difficult period which follows it. The present volume justifies that hope. Its subject is naturally of a different character from that of the earlier book. The interest of the reign of Nero ranges over a large number of topics, and the existing evidence, though it is unequally distributed over them, is yet sufficiently varied to allow of their discussion. But the confusion which accompanied and followed the end of Nero's reign produced a series of years during which there was no time for any except military ideas. We hear occasionally of the attempts of three short-lived emperors to increase their popularity by constitutional changes ; but these attempts either are transitory or else owe their real importance to their adoption by later rulers. The provinces must have been governed somehow, but the governors were probably content if they could keep clear of invasion or mutiny. The armies of the Empire had discovered their power and, until their respective claims had been decided, there was no time for other considerations. The historian of these years has therefore to deal with civil war and rebellion ; even if he limits himself expressly, as Mr. Henderson does, to this side of things, he is leaving out of consideration very little that direct evidence enables us to supply. He is certainly very unfortunate in his original authorities. If the works of Cluvius Rufus or Vipstanus Messalla were extant, the position would be different ; but Tacitus, Suetonius, and Plutarch possessed but little military understanding between them. In a military historian we look for geographical accuracy. Dr. Greenidge endeavoured to defend the geography of Sallust as given in the Jugurtha, but it is unlikely that anyone will undertake the same office for Tacitus. We look also for careful and sober, if prosaic, statement of dispositions and results ; but it is hard to deny that, in his accounts of campaigns, Tacitus is the slave of his own style. It follows that Mr. Henderson is continually engaged in the ungrateful task of pointing out inaccurate or unintelligible points in the narrative of Tacitus. Sometimes his criticisms may possibly be hasty. It may be quite true that the Inn, without any bridges over it, is a completely adequate defence for Noricum against an invader from the west ; but a commander of Noricum who had lost his head might destroy bridges over other rivers also (perhaps even the Danube), and it does not seem certain that in *Hist.* i. 70 the historian's plural is impossible. In other respects too Mr. Henderson is occasionally rash in his suggestions. His proposal to read 'vastatam' for 'vastam' in ii. 32 is ingenious, but

requires further justification. The question between Ferentio and Ferentino in ii. 50 is a complicated one, as may be seen from Furneaux's note on *Annals* xv. 53. The discussion of 'in Umbriam' in *Hist.* iii. 41 does not seem to lead to any conclusion, and the argument on page 349 is hard to follow. The words are certainly difficult: can they mean 'into the interior of Umbria,' just as a force which was marching from Ramsgate towards Dover might be described as marching 'into Kent' if it turned off towards Canterbury? In that case the words, though generally favourable to Mr. Henderson's main position in this passage, would seem to require Tacitus to take a different view of Valens' actual route than the one which Mr. Henderson favours (if we understand him correctly).

Perhaps the most valuable of Mr. Henderson's suggestions on points of detail is the proposal to read 'ad quantum decimum' for 'ad quartum' in ii. 39. It is proverbially dangerous to solve a historical difficulty by emending a text, but this conjecture is not one that can be neglected. We may also mention as particularly useful the note on the site of Bedriacum and the clear account of the course of the lower Rhine, which students of the reign of Augustus could consult with advantage.

For the book as a whole we have nothing but praise. The style is vigorous and readable, and it is in a large measure free from what appeared to many to be the defects of the earlier volume. On the military judgements expressed and the attempts to state and illustrate the rapidly changing military situations, only military experts can express an opinion. But there can be no question that Mr. Henderson has succeeded in making the events of these years live before us, and that he has turned to excellent account both his careful reading of military history and his intimate knowledge of North Italy.

*The Syriac Church and Fathers.* A brief review of the subject by the REV. DE LACY O'LEARY, B.D., Reader in Aramaic and Syriac, Bristol University College. (S.P.C.K. 1909.) 2s. net.

THIS little book is

'intended to serve as a first introduction to the study of Syriac literature. . . . Whilst the Latin and Greek Fathers have received great attention in Western Europe for many generations past, it is worth remembering that there is a large body of Christian literature in Syriac and Coptic only slightly inferior to that in Latin and Greek, throwing

much light upon the history, liturgy and institutions of the early Church, and as yet, to a large extent, an unworked field.'

Now in a first introduction to any study we need not expect new discoveries, startling theories, or evidence of original research. But what we have a right to demand is a fairly complete knowledge of the results achieved by others, sufficient evidence that the writer has informed himself of the facts and documents discovered up to date, and the theories established by those acknowledged authorities on the subject. But the reader of Mr. O'Leary's book will find no reference there to the Bishop of Moray's contributions to Syriac liturgiology, to Professor Bevan's edition of the *Hymn of the Soul*, or Professor Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity*, to say nothing of foreign works like Duval's *Histoire d'Édesse* and Tixeront's *L'Église d'Édesse*—we mention but a few specimens of a vast literature—nor even an acknowledgment of obligation to Wright's *Syriac Literature*, though on pp. 116 and 137 Dr. Wright's 'opinions,' but not his book, are mentioned.

While speaking of Christian Syriac literature as 'to a large extent an unworked field' the author scarcely shews himself to be even aware of the existence of these scholars. Hence some grave omissions in his well-meaning little book, one of the most startling being the absence of any mention of the *Hymn of the Soul*, called by Dr. Burkitt 'the most beautiful production not of Syriac literature only, but I venture to assert of all the literary activity of the early Church,' and extant in no fewer than four English translations, two in prose and two in verse. And from the one bare allusion (p. 37) to the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (which contains the great Hymn) no one would imagine that this tale is 'the most striking and original piece of Syriac Literature, and can challenge comparison with the *Pilgrim's Progress*.'<sup>1</sup>

When we turn to Mr. O'Leary's account of Bardaisan, the reputed author of these things, we learn that 'we have no information as to the date or circumstances of Bardaisan's conversion.' But the Syriac Chronicle of Michael the Great (edited by M. Chabot), which gives the fullest account of him, declares that he was converted in 179 A.D. by Bishop Hystasp of Edessa.

Mr. O'Leary cannot make up his mind as to the exact Syriac title of Bardaisan's dialogue, which he translates sometimes *Book of the Laws of Countries*, and sometimes *Book of the Laws*

<sup>1</sup> See Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity* (1904), pp. 193-4.

of Nations. But why ignore altogether its more appropriate name, and omit to tell us that the Greek writers always spoke of it as the *Dialogue On Fate*?

Mr. O'Leary questions whether Bardaisan was a Gnostic, and boldly says (p. 40) :

'The description of Bardaisan as a Gnostic is due to Greek writers who may have derived their information from his followers, or from works now lost, or may have misunderstood his references to angels, etc., and to the planets, and so confused his teaching with the Gnostic theory of æons. . . . So far as direct evidence extends, Bardaisan's teaching seems to have retained some elements of Chaldæan astrology in a form peculiar to himself, and not to have possessed any characteristics which enable us to classify him with the great leaders of Gnostic thought.'

We commend to him a passage in Professor Bevan's introduction to the *Hymn of the Soul* (p. 7) :

'Whatever may be the ultimate verdict of scholars as to the exact date and authorship of this composition, it will always deserve careful study on account of the light which it throws upon one of the most remarkable phases in the religious history of mankind. Gnosticism is here displayed to us not as it appeared to its enemies, not as a tissue of fantastic speculations, but as it was in reality, at least to some of its adherents, a new religion.'

When we come to the episcopate of Rabbûla Mr. O'Leary's account, with one exception, is fairly adequate, though there is an inaccuracy at the outset. Rabbûla is known to have been converted to Christianity mainly by Acacius, Bishop of Beroea (i.e. Aleppo) ; but Mr. O'Leary adds (p. 95) 'who had behaved with so great charity towards the Persian prisoners.' All readers of Gibbon (including Mr. O'Leary himself, see pp. 85 and 100) know that that charitable bishop was Acacius of Amida.

This, of course, is a detail ; but why, on a point so important as the authorship of the New Testament Peshitta, does he leave his readers in ignorance of the new theory, now generally accepted by Syriac scholars? He tells us (p. 97) that 'Rabbûla was responsible for enforcing the use of the Peshitta text of the Gospels in place of the Diatessaron of Tatian' ; and he seems to think that no more is known on the subject. But more is known. It is fully discussed in Professor Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity*, chap. ii. :

'Before the episcopate of Rabbûla the quotations of Syriac writers do not agree with the Peshitta New Testament, and they do very largely



agree with the Diatessaron and the surviving MSS. of the *Evangelîôn da-Mêpharrêshê*; after the episcopate of Rabbûla they agree with the Peshitta, and do not agree with the Diatessaron and the *Evangelîôn da-Mêpharrêshê*. The inference is obvious that Rabbûla had himself a chief share in the publication of the Peshitta. This inference becomes to my mind something very like a certainty when we read that at the beginning of his episcopate "he translated by the wisdom of God that was in him the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, exactly as it was" (Overbeck 172). . . . For these reasons, therefore, I identify the "translation" spoken of by Rabbûla's biographer with the Peshitta itself. I regard it as a revision prepared by him or under his immediate direction.'

On page 113 Mr. O'Leary tells us that Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh (twice misspelt Marbogh), caused to be prepared a new translation of the New Testament and Psalms, which was much more literal in its rendering than the Peshitta, and of which copies are now very rare. But this way of putting it is misleading. According to Dr. Gwynn, whose work is not mentioned, the version of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude, which appears in the ordinary editions of the Peshitta, is actually derived from the Philoxenian, as is also the interesting version of the Apocalypse of John published by him in 1897. Besides this no part of the Philoxenian is certainly known to survive. Mr. O'Leary's account of the revised versions by Thomas of Harkel and Paul of Tella is also inadequate. He omits to say that the first is a revision of the Philoxenian New Testament, and the second a translation of the Hexaplar text of the Septuagint.

Two small points call for notice in passing. On pp. 31 and 36 Mr. O'Leary uses the word Abgar as a title: 'Bar-Manu was Abgar,' 'a new Abgar.' This is nonsense: it is like calling the Queen of England 'a Victoria.' Abgar is simply a proper name, and the person called Bar-Manu was really Ma'nu IX. (Duval, *Histoire d'Édesse*, p. 72). On p. 45 he refers to 'Cursives, 19, 82, 93, 108, of 4 Kings.' This is a curious way of indicating not the fourth book, but all four books of Kings.

In his chapter on the Nestorian schism he says (p. 103) 'Another important work of the Nestorians of Edessa and Nisibis was the formation of the Syriac Masora, collections of difficult and dubious readings in the Peshitta, although this work was carried out more thoroughly by the rival Jacobite Church.' On the contrary, the Nestorian Masora (preserved in B.M. Add. 12138) is fuller and more accurate than any surviv-

ing Jacobite copy. Extracts (including all St. Mark) are given in Mr. Gwilliam's valuable *Tetraevangelium*.

Space compels us to pass over the chapters on the Revival of Persia, the Empire of Kushru, and the Rise of Islam. If we were inclined to be captious we might point out that neither in his chapter on Syrian (*sic*) Monasticism, nor in speaking of Aphraates, does the writer take any notice of that new and far-reaching theory first started by Professor Burkitt in his *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire* (1899), and more recently maintained in his *Early Eastern Christianity* (chap. iv.), and discussed at length by him and Dom Connolly, O.S.B., in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. vi. p. 522, and vol. vii. p. 10). We refer to the theory that the B'nai Q'yâmâ were not the monks, but 'simply the baptized laity of the early Syriac-speaking Church' (*Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 129); that 'He [Aphraates] only recognizes two grades in the Christian ranks, the baptized celibate (from whose ranks also the clergy are drawn) and the unbaptized penitent' (*ibid.* p. 137). In short, that according to Aphraates, 'Baptism is not the common seal of every Christian's faith but a privilege reserved for celibates' (*ibid.* p. 125). Now, whether this view be accepted or not, Mr. O'Leary should not ignore the extreme importance of the question for our understanding of early oriental Christianity.

On page 70, the Syriac *Liturgy of the Nile*, published by the Rev. G. Margoliouth in 1896, is ascribed to Professor Margoliouth. Mr. O'Leary goes on to say that 'evidently there was a Syriac-speaking community in Egypt, but its presence there is unexplained, and no details are known.' For details we refer him to the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. vi. pp. 92 and 98, where he will find the highly probable explanation that this Palestinian Syriac Liturgy was used by the Palestinian Syriac monks belonging to the community of Mount Sinai.

The book is furnished with a scanty index, and we have noticed no misprints except on p. 22, l. 2, 'Justini' for 'Justinian'; p. 40, bottom line, 'and' for 'see.'

*Incubation; or, The Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches.* By MARY HAMILTON, M.A., Carnegie Research Scholar. (St. Andrews: Henderson and Son. London: Simpkin, Marshall. 5s. net.)

THIS is an exceedingly attractive work, which will claim the interest of a wide circle of readers. The history of incubation, a means of recourse to superhuman aid, by sleeping, or passing

a night of vigil in a sacred spot, is clearly and graphically described, and a larger work, dealing with similar practices in other parts of the world, would be welcome from the same pen. The subject appeals with especial force to students of comparative religion, and of archaeology, while to medical men its value is by no means insignificant.

Under the heading of 'Incubation in Temples' we find descriptions of the cult of Asklepios. Stone stelae, discovered at Epidauros (well-known as the most celebrated shrine of the cult), provide no small amount of evidence as to procedure and results. The later developments of the cult, traced in the experiences related in the 'Orations of Aristides' (in the second century, A.D.), are fully reproduced and discussed. Incubation was a prime factor in these experiences. From the cult of Asklepios, we pass to those of other pagan deities in Italy, the Greek Islands, and Egypt.

The affiliation of incubation to Christian ceremonies is described in the second section of the work, wherein the twin doctor-saints, Cosmas and Damian, together with St. Michael, St. Martin, and others, appear as the successors of Asklepios. Modern instances, above all the now celebrated Festival of Tenos (which Miss Hamilton attended, and which she describes from personal observation), fill the concluding chapters of the book.

A few remarks may be added on the general results of this study. It is pointed out that in the earliest times the suppliant, or patient, when performing the incubation, was, so to speak, passive. The procedure was simply that of sleeping in the shrine or in its immediate vicinity. Thereafter, new developments arose. On the one hand, the cure might not be immediate or complete; mere directions as to treatment (which might have to be carried out in the neighbourhood of the shrine) might be vouchsafed. Again, we can trace a gradual assumption of authoritative powers by the attendant priests, who finally combined the attributes of special intermediaries between healer and healed with those of medical practitioners qualified to carry out treatment. The character of the diseases of which records are available as having been remedied, is full of significance to the modern medical man, owing to the predominance of instances of lameness, of palsy, of blindness, and of mental affections, varieties of disease still treated by 'suggestion' with a certain frequency of success. It will be noticed that little is said about the practice of incubation in relation to the Islamic religion. This subject might be followed up in a further study.

Lastly, festivals, or periods at which the healing virtues of the god are particularly potent, or the deity especially accessible, seem to be a late development not evident in the earlier records.

*The Arts of the Church.* Edited by the Rev. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. 1. *The Ornaments of the Ministers.* By the Rev. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. 2. *Church Bells.* By H. B. WALTERS, M.A., F.S.A. 3. *The Architectural History of the Christian Church.* By A. G. HILL, M.A., F.S.A. (Mowbray. 1909.) 1s. 6d. net each.

It is much to be desired, and indeed expected, that future volumes will justify the anticipations that are formed upon a perusal of these three admirable little books. They are exceedingly well done by competent hands, and in form and binding most pleasant to handle and to look at. There are few persons more competent to speak on the ornaments of the ministers than Mr. Dearmer, whether all his views be accepted or carried out in practice or not. The Prayer-Book phrase 'the ornaments of the ministers' is the only title that is quite accurate, including, as it does, not only garments, but other things, such as crosiers, crosses, etc., as used by all 'ministers,' from the archbishops to the youngest chorister, and their outdoor costume as well. All these things are completely described from the historical point of view, no account being taken of modern Roman fashions. And every one who is at all interested in the requirements of our Book of Common Prayer ought certainly to possess this comprehensive but most handy little book. The second volume on church bells, deals with what has often proved a fascinating subject, which indeed has given rise to the study and pursuit of 'Campanology,' a term that includes not only the archaeology of bells, but the principles of bell-founding, bell-ringing, etc., and Mr. Walters has discussed the early history of bells and the methods of casting, English bell-founders, big bells, chimes, and carillons, campaniles, change-ringing, uses and customs, decoration and inscriptions, and the care of bells, all as well as need be, and fully as well as could be within a compass of 157 pages. We are a little surprised to find no reference to the unique and remarkable bell by Newcombe of Leicester at St. Mary's, Oxford, on which is a fine piece of music in the madrigal style, not known elsewhere. This music has been described and reproduced more than once. The curfew may be heard not only in the places named, but in Durham. On p. 121 we should read 'thy Mother's sake' and 'caused to make.' This expres-



sion is similar to 'let make' in the Kirkdale dial inscription referred to below. The illustrations of casting are the best that we remember to have seen; and York has afforded two subjects of great interest—the bell-founder's window in the Minster and the bronze mortar of Brother William de Touthorpe, presumably a monk, not a 'friar,' in the museum. The mortar belonged to the infirmary of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary, at York.

Mr. Hill's *Architectural History* will be to many the most attractive book of the three. Beginning with primitive places of worship in houses, catacombs, and basilicas, as seen in Rome and elsewhere, he concludes this part of his subject with the very remarkable little Romano-British church, on the basilican model, the remains of which were discovered at Silchester in 1892. He next describes Byzantine churches of the East and of the West. The account of St. Sophia at Constantinople is alone worth the cost of the book. Then come the weird old Coptic churches of Egypt, and the mediaeval churches of Russia, in which country Christianity dates only from the eleventh century. Next we come to the purely British part of the subject, in which the writer starts from the story of Joseph of Arimathea building a chapel of twisted osiers at Glastonbury in A.D. 63, a legend derived from that not very reliable 'authority,' William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the twelfth century. However, we are on surer ground with St. Piran in the sand, the oratory of Gallerus, the churches found by St. Augustine at Canterbury, and other very early churches in Britain and Ireland. These bring us to the 'Saxon period' and the 'Norman period,' as they are called; to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the later mediaeval periods; and then come a few words on the classic and Gothic revivals. There is not much that is new to be said on these phases of English church architecture, but what is said is exceedingly good and to the point. There is an interesting paragraph on p. 140 about the ancient practice of white-washing of interiors, to which might have been added exteriors. In connexion with this matter are some seasonable remarks about the terrible injury done by skinning ancient plaster off rubble and brick walls, and the still more atrocious custom of scraping or hacking the surface of stone-work, often resulting in an excellent imitation of corduroy, but for ever obliterating the tooling of the ancient masons. In connexion with St. Paul's it should be noted that the proper cathedral plan happily adapted was not due to Wren but to James II. or his ecclesiastical advisers. Wren's original design was for a fine public building

not in the least like a church. It would have been better if the Kirkdale inscription, p. 130, had been given in the original, or at least in a right translation. It begins 'Orm (not 'Orin') Gamals son,' and the supposed name 'Chehittle' appears to be a misreading of ' & he hit let,' and he it caused (to make new), etc. We are afraid that the 'Saxon craftsman' Howard must be deprived of his colleagues 'Chehittle and others.' And 'macan' is infinitive, not preterite. We should mention that this history is illustrated by thirty-one full-page illustrations and thirteen figures in the text, including many plans. There are many subjects that might well be treated in future volumes, such as glass, wall-paintings, heraldry, monumental and other sculpture, brasses, and books. Such a series would form a most handy and desirable little library, and we trust that enough encouragement will be given to the editor and publishers to enable them to continue the series.

*Some Notable Altars in the Church of England and the American Episcopal Church.* By REV. JOHN WRIGHT, D.D., LL.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, Minn., etc. With 114 full-page plates. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.) 25s. net.

THIS handsome volume might be otherwise described as 'Some Notable Reredoses,' for, although the reredos is subservient to the altar, it affords much more room for artistic treatment, and from the pictorial point of view forms the main subject of most illustrations that include it. The book under notice includes about seventy representations of English reredoses and altars, ancient and modern, and forty-five American, the latter of necessity all modern. Among the former are some of our finest altar screens—those of Winchester, St. Albans, and Durham, for example, and the modern ones at York, Newcastle-on-Tyne, St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, and St. Paul's Cathedral, with many others not less worthy of notice. To each is prefixed a history and description, often borrowed from some trustworthy authority, such as an official account, or a work on a cathedral church. Thus the description of the Winchester screen is taken from P. W. Sergeant's book on the cathedral, that of Truro from a printed form, that of St. Albans from an account by Lord Aldenham, that of Beverley from one by Canon Nolloth, that of St. Paul's Cathedral from one by Mr. Garner, and so on. These accounts, in conjunction with the beautiful full-page illustrations,

are often of permanent value and of great interest. It is remarkable that nine of these are from New York City alone, and seven from Philadelphia. To the English ecclesiologist the American reredoses will in many cases be a revelation. They shew in a most striking manner the wonderful advance of right principles and taste in the American Church, contemporaneous with what we see in the Mother Country. The designs, of course, vary in merit, and some would strike the English eye as fantastic rather than beautiful. We do not understand 'St. Michael in the vestments of a priest' and 'St. Gabriel in the vestments of a deacon' (p. 254). The reredos at St. James', Philadelphia, is quite satisfactory in itself, but the effect is somewhat marred, as in other cases, by a foreground of conspicuous seats placed quite up to the altar rails. It appears to be not at all unusual in America for the reredos to include a tabernacle, or the appearance of one, and at the Church of the Ascension in Chicago (as is also the case at Elmstone, near Cheltenham) the tabernacle and its lofty canopy form the main feature in the design. In the 'Lady Chapel' of St. Mark's, Philadelphia, is a superb silver altar front, the work of Messrs. Barkentin and Krall, of London, similar to a very magnificent one in the museum of the Cathedral of Florence. It contains many hundreds of figures and subjects most harmoniously combined, with a large representation of the Blessed Virgin and the Divine Infant in the centre. We know of nothing approaching to it in England, nor, indeed, of any modern work of the kind elsewhere, and the description of it and of its iconography, from a pamphlet bearing the imprint of Barkentin and Krall, is exceedingly full and interesting. The space at our command does not admit of a lengthened notice of Mr. Wright's beautiful book, but we are sure that many of our readers will be glad to have their attention directed to it.

#### V. SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

*In Christ's Name.* Four Addresses delivered to Candidates for Ordination in the Chapel of Fulham Palace, Advent 1907, by F. HOMES DUDDEN, D.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of London. With Preface by the Bishop. (Longmans. 1908.) 2s. 6d.

THESE addresses are the product of a devout mind, the environment of which has perhaps been theology rather than life. They do not strike us as being exactly what men want on the eve of

ordination, because they are not sufficiently concrete and personal. They speak of the Gospel of the Incarnation rather than the proclamation of Christ crucified; of communion with the Father through Christ, rather than reconciliation through His death; of illumination rather than consecration. It is not so much 'principles of Christ's teaching' as the conviction of His power to save that men need to realize with an intensity that burns during the hours of Embertide. But while, as it seems to us, these addresses come short of the highest inspiration, they are full of chastened thought reverently expressed, and may be confidently commended, as by the Bishop they are, to the study of the younger clergy.

*The Sanctuary of God, and other Sermons.* By W. ALLEN WHITWORTH, M.A., Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street, sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Macmillan. 1908.) 4s. 6d.

A FORMER volume of sermons by Mr. Whitworth, posthumously published, was noticed in the pages of this Review. Its success has evidently encouraged the expectation that another volume by the same author would be favourably received. These discourses exhibit the same careful preparation, the same vigorous thought, the same sanity of outlook which marked their predecessors. Especially striking perhaps is a sermon on 'the sorrows of life,' in which we are warned against the theory that attributes pain to God's inscrutable beneficence. 'I refuse,' says the preacher 'to look upon the evils and the miseries of the world, as if they were the ordinance of God.' Balance is an obvious characteristic of Mr. Whitworth's teaching, a quality forcibly displayed in the twelfth sermon, on 'The Elements of Salvation,' taken in connexion with its successor on 'The Finished Salvation.' In the new life of sanctification he sees 'the fruit and evidence of salvation rather than salvation itself.' His teaching on the Atonement ought to satisfy the most thorough-going Evangelical. 'If Christ did not die for us, in the sense that His offering of Himself is the ground of our acceptance with the Father and of the forgiveness of our sins, then Christianity is reduced to a mere theism.' Sacramental grace is unequivocally taught, but to the soul '*blasée* of Sacraments' is given the not unnecessary warning that what she needs is 'the response of her heart and soul and spirit to sacramental grace.'



*The Forgiveness of Sins.* By the Right Rev. A. C. A. HALL, Bishop of Vermont. (Longmans. 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

A VOLUME of Lenten sermons by a Bishop, declaring the Catholic Faith with due consideration of the difficulties of our age, and with refreshing American pungency—such is this welcome little work. Forgiveness, set before us in the Creed as an object of faith, is not the obvious outcome of the relation of frail man to an indulgent God; it is not the mere remission of a penalty, but the restoration and liberation of the soul. It demands on our side not superficial regret but the serious and persistent conversion of the will. This meets on God's side, in the Cross of Christ, uncompromising hatred of sin, perfect sympathy with man, and restoring grace. This grace is bestowed in Holy Baptism, not as a gift once given in the past, but as a vital power daily to be developed. For the need of those who sin after Baptism, God has provided the Ministry of Reconciliation. The perfect forgiveness of sins is not inconsistent with the continuance of temporal chastisement. An ordination sermon follows which urges the reality and the seriousness of the ministerial commission and the duties it involves; and a Note on the Unction of the Sick, which the writer, after Father Puller, regards as instituted for the relief of the body rather than the comfort of the soul, though we think he tends to make into an antithesis what are really complementary purposes.

This is not a treatise which might challenge discussion, but a volume of sermons addressed to an ordinary congregation. It is based on a careful theology, but does not obtrude it. Its appeal is to Holy Scripture and to common sense. The language is clear, and the illustrations homely but never unbecoming. We have seldom read a book of the sort so considerate, so accurate, and so persuasive.

*The Eucharist.* Devotional Addresses on its chief aspects. By E. TYRRELL GREEN, M.A., Professor of Hebrew and Theology, St. David's College, Lampeter. (London: John Murray. 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

THESE addressess were mostly delivered at St. David's College, Lampeter, at a service of preparation for Holy Communion held weekly on Saturday evenings. They contain positive instruction expressed with great accuracy and sobriety in such a form as to be easily and appropriately used as a foundation of prayer. For their original purpose and for use in a wider circle they are ad-

mirably fitted both in design and in execution. There are three very useful appendices. The first supplies analyses of the Liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions, the Liturgy commented on in St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures, the Roman Mass, the English rites of 1549 and 1662, and the Communion Offices of the Scottish and American Churches; the second and third give forms of preparation for and thanksgiving after Communion. We could wish that Mr. Green had differently expressed the sentence in which he describes 'the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation' as 'materialistic.' Is it not the case that, whatever individual Roman Catholics may have thought or said, the doctrine of Transubstantiation as officially defined in the Church of Rome is a spiritual doctrine?

*Lectures on the Atonement delivered in St. Edmund's Church, Kingsbridge, Lent 1908, for the Diocesan Church Reading Society.* By HERBERT A. BIRKS, M.A., Vicar, late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: S.P.C.K. 1908.) 6d.

WITHOUT being very profound or scientific this little book is likely to be of service to those among ordinary church-going people who wish for simple instruction, in a devotional setting, about the Atonement. Among its many useful features, to name two instances of a different kind, are the emphasis on the moral character of the Atonement and the teaching on the real existence of the angels. We wonder why the writer has used the phrases 'human personality' in regard to our Lord, and 'perhaps necessity' in regard to the intrusion of 'discord' 'on the life of' the 'universe.' His statement that the Atonement is 'the central feature of God's Fatherhood, the central purpose of the life of Jesus Christ, the central object of the ceaseless and un-sleeping energy of God the Holy Spirit in the Church,' though it is afterwards explained, does not seem to us happily expressed; and the difference on which he lays stress between himself and those who teach that our Lord offered to the Father 'perfect penitence' on our behalf is probably due to his using the word 'penitence' in its ordinary and popular sense and their attaching to it a specially defined sense. The contents of the book would have been more accurately suggested by a title *Addresses or Sermons relating to the Atonement* than by that of *Lectures on the Atonement*.

*God-given Guides.* By the late THOMAS LUCAS SCOTT, B.D.  
(London : Skeffington and Son. 1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

DR. GWYNN contributes an introductory memoir to this volume of sermons by a leading preacher in the Irish Church. Canon Scott's chief work was done at Derry (1867 to 1877) and at Dublin (1883 to 1906). He resigned his charge at St. George's, Dublin, at the close of 1906 and died on May 1, 1908, at the age of seventy-four years. Dr. Gwynn tells us that each of his sermons was planned to treat of a well-defined subject ; nothing was hurried or incomplete, nothing left obscure or slovenly in expression. His message was so taken to heart as to have become part of his inmost being, and his exposition of it was shaped diligently by the labour of a trained intellect with power to convince and persuade.

The sermons deal with our three God-given guides, the Church, the Gospel, and the Conscience ; Relations between God and Man ; Jesus Christ, both Son of God and Son of Man ; Encouragements for Life and Death. Canon Scott tries to teach what is best both in the corporate and in the individualistic presentation of Christianity. The Gospel and the Church are separate and independent divine gifts. Each member of the Church must make his own place in the Church a living reality by a personal surrender to God. On the other hand, enjoyment of union with the Lord must not allow men to forget their obligation to the Church. Some preachers say that at baptism a germ of spiritual life is implanted in each soul, others that at conversion a new nature is created in each convert, but—Canon Scott urges—the Gospel message is that life is always in the Son of God, so that he that hath the Son hath life. The allegory of the vine teaches us to do consciously what the branch does unconsciously, to yield to the warmth of the sunshine of heaven, to draw into ourselves the life that flows in the vine.

*The Other World.* By W. GARRETT HORDER. (Macmillan and Co. 1909.) 3s. net.

THIS book is a collection of discourses delivered from time to time by a Christian minister on the general subject of the world beyond the grave. It is reverently written in a genuinely Christian spirit, and though not reaching a markedly high level contains useful thoughts. The author deals with what we might *a priori* expect to be the character of the other world, its life and activities, and makes constant appeals to the teaching of

our Lord, in which he tries to separate the substantial truth from the form in which it was necessarily delivered. We approve of his strong repudiation of the idea, now but rarely found, that death may mean a long sleep; also of his assertion that work, which is really our greatest joy, will be found for us beyond the grave. On p. 62 he rightly distinguishes between work and labour, meaning, by the latter, uncongenial tasks which baffle and vex, from which there will be rest in the other world. Yet on p. 91 he seems to contemplate the possibility of 'toil, strife with difficulty' in that world. Mr. Horder is very far from clear on the nature of Christ's Resurrection Body, and of our spiritual bodies. He appears to accept as true the conception of Christ's body as possessing flesh and bones and therefore tangible (p. 52) and of the departed as clothed upon with a form resembling that which was theirs on earth, 'else how could we know that they were themselves.' (*ib.*) But (p. 141) he also speaks of Christ's spiritual not carnal body as rising, though he clearly accepts the story of the empty tomb. His position seems to be (pp. 142-3) that the material particles of our Lord's 'carnal' body dissolved on the passing of the Idea or Word—the spiritual body that always underlies the carnal body, which fashioned the material form. The tangible body, which our Lord possessed after His resurrection, was therefore truly a body, but the same as the body which hung on the Cross in no sense save as fashioned by the same underlying Idea. We cannot look on this as an improvement on older views: if our Lord's Resurrection Body was tangible and bore the marks of the Passion (p. 31) surely it is far easier to believe that the body which was laid in the tomb rose in its totality, with whatever different powers. Mr. Horder insists strongly and well on Christ's claims to be considered trustworthy in connexion with the other world, and has some sensible remarks on the duty of not sacrificing this world to the other, or *vice versa*.

#### VI.—SCIENCE AND ETHNOLOGY.

*The Sense of Touch in Mammals and Birds, with Special Reference to the Papillary Ridges.* By WALTER KIDD, M.D., F.Z.S. (London: A. and C. Black.) 5s. net.

IN the present work (which is in some respects complementary to researches already published on the arrangement of the hairy covering of mammals) Dr. Kidd studies the arrangement of the fine 'papillary ridges' of the hand and foot.

'Finger-prints' must always possess a certain fascination,



for even though the solemn farces of palmistry (dealing, however, not with the finer grooves, but mainly with the coarser 'lines' which depend on muscular contraction) have long since been exploded, the individual peculiarities of the details of finger-prints are proved beyond a doubt, and have led to their employment in various ways, in ancient and modern times, whether for the purposes of criminal identification, or, as is still the vogue in Borneo and among many primitive peoples, for setting an indisputable mark upon contracts and similar documents.

Dr. Kidd's book treats the subject from the standpoint of evolution, and in the first section of the work the author shews, by numerous excellent illustrations, a number of examples illustrative of the gradual extension of the finely-ridged surfaces, which, beginning as a few islands surrounded by less sensitive nodulated skin, progress in development until they replace the latter over the whole extent of the palm of the hand and sole of the foot. This replacement is most complete in those animals with which man finds his closest associations in the system of natural relationships.

A second part of the book is devoted to the more minute examination of the structure of the sensitive skin, and the chief inference to be drawn from this is to the effect that a transition of the same kind as that previously described is also recognizable here.

The final portion of the volume, dealing as it does with the uses and functions of the complicated systems of grooves and ridges, will probably prove more attractive than the detailed exposition of anatomical evidence. Dr. Kidd is not content to assign to the various patterns the simple significance of constituting a mechanical means for improving the power of grasp. There is something more behind these whorls and loops than the mere prehensile function, or, as some have suggested, the convenience of removing skin secretions. In particular, delicacy of the perception of touch impressions is distinctly dependent upon the arrangement of the ridges.

And thus we are led to a fuller appreciation of the deep significance of these surface markings. This may be outlined in the following manner. The emancipation of the upper limbs in man from employment as organs of locomotion has been attended with a great increase in the variety of uses to which they may be put. Concurrently, the sense of touch in the skin has increased in fineness, and the complexity, extent, and minuteness of the ridges and furrows indicate the mechanical method whereby this result has been attained. At the same

time, also, it may be added that the brain 'centre' for the elaboration and interpretation of the innumerable messages which, in these new circumstances, can be transmitted to the cerebrum, has been extended, and thus some compensation is provided for the sacrifice of certain special sense-perceptions, notably those of smell, with which we are not well-endowed. The problem of the sole of the foot provides an interesting contrast, for the sensations received here are not, as in the hand, so largely subservient to impressions of touch pure and simple, but, on the contrary, are concerned in the complex processes upon which the poise and equilibrium of the whole body are dependent.

For the fuller discussion of these fundamental points in the appreciation of the underlying significance of the finger and other patterns, reference should be made to the very thorough work which Dr. Kidd has published, as well as to the full bibliography appended to his studies.

*Glimpses of the Ages ; or, the 'superior' and 'inferior' races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History.* By THEOPHILUS E. SAMUEL SCHOLES, M.D., etc. Vol. II. (London : John Long. 1908.) 12s. net.

IN the first volume of this work, Dr. Scholes contended that, in respect of bodily structure and psychological endowment, the white races are not justified in regarding themselves as superior to the coloured races of man. In a notice of that volume<sup>1</sup> this conclusion was held to be based upon insufficient evidence, and the opinion was expressed that, while the white races must be regarded as more highly endowed intellectually, yet from that very fact, their shame will be greater should they fail to maintain the high standard of conduct imposed upon them by their superior mental equipment. Dr. Scholes devotes his second volume to an examination of the manner in which the white races have treated the coloured races now enumerated among the subjects of the British Empire. Extracts and records have been brought together, with the avowed purpose of demonstrating the inferior morality of the white man, in this instance, the Briton. Disgraceful and shameful, indeed, are many of the records, as every student of the history of the acquisition of our foreign possessions knows. But, while we confidently recommend the perusal of this volume as a corrective to any tendency to self-complacency, or

<sup>1</sup> C.Q.R., December 1905.

to the belief that, as a nation, our dealings with our dependencies are or have always been morally ideal, be it also remembered that the author is here a special pleader, and that the account has both credit and debit sides. Thus, while the Denshawi incident is duly called upon, we cannot find that any other evidence at all is culled from Egyptian sources.

As has been said, the major part of the book deals with records of what we must regretfully admit were acts of harshness or intolerance, while the author does not hesitate to add to his indictment charges of cruelty and lack of good faith. Having progressed so far, the reader naturally looks, in the concluding chapters, for suggestions of reform. The phrase 'Equal opportunities for all' may be taken as the most evident expression of what is urged. But with this yet another suggestion appears, which can be baldly but expressively rendered by the single word 'scuttle.' The policy of 'scuttle' is, unfortunately, not a new idea in this country, but it would certainly be regarded by the mass of the populace in India or Egypt, for instance, as good evidence of that inferiority of the white to the coloured man which Dr. Scholes is concerned to prove. It is in fuller accord with the highest teaching not to turn back, having set our hand to the plough, but to mend our ways and avoid fulsome pride. The book gives signs of much industry and not a little ability, and if we may hazard a conjecture as to its author's own race, which would seem to warrant the anecdote on pp. 177-79, much of its tone is explained; and the deficiencies, *e.g.* the superficial nature of the anthropological discussions in the first volume, and the narrowness of view revealed in framing the summary in the present instalment of his work, are seen to be characteristic.

#### VII. GENERAL LITERATURE.

*James Thomson.* By G. C. MACAULAY, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 'English Men of Letters' Series. (Macmillan and Co. 1908.) 2s. net.

LITTLE can be said in favour of the Dramas, *Liberty*, and the other minor poems, though *Rule Britannia* will never lose its charm. It is poetry and no mere 'political hymn,' and Mr. Macaulay's convincing defence of Thomson's authorship is welcome. *The Seasons* and *The Castle of Indolence* claim abiding admiration, and Thomson's honest, manly character engages our affections, as it did the hearts of his friends when he lived. We thank Mr. Macaulay sincerely for his worthy memorial

of a great poet, composed with conscientious accuracy and with appreciation governed by wise judgement. These 250 pages discover just what a brief study of a poet ought to discover, that the author enjoys an enthusiasm for his hero which he keeps in check, and has learnt his mind and work so intimately that he is able to sketch firmly and picturesquely. The life of Thomson is described with careful regard to facts. Scenes, conversations and letters are skilfully selected, so that the poet moves before the reader in the midst of friends who love him and are loved by him, and among varied occupations and amusements, through all of which he remains unspoilt in his devotion to 'the Muses of the great simple country' which was the sacrament of his very sincere religion. All this Mr. Macaulay writes in a clear, unaffected, yet vigorous style. The subject, not the biographer, fills the page. It reminds us of the aim he ascribes to the Royal Society—'to promote the use of a simple and lucid English style, as far as possible free from ornament and superfluity.'

The life of the poet is followed by criticism of his poems. This criticism is full of interest. Thomson's place in the growth of the Poetry of Nature is discussed, and he is shewn to be the greatest, but not the earliest, of a generation of writers who shared his interest in fields and woods and skies. Indeed, this interest came to them all rather as an inheritance than as a new conquest, and in Scotland (which kept perhaps a longer hold on Thomson's genius than Mr. Macaulay allows) this care for Nature in herself had always held its own. It may be noticed in passing that the estimate on p. 91 of Shakespeare and Milton's subordination of nature description is hardly adequate. Coleridge puts the matter better in *Literary Remains*.<sup>1</sup> And the mention of Coleridge suggests an addition to the list in chapter ix. of poems which have been influenced by Thomson. In the lines of *Dejection* :—

All this long eve so balmy and serene,  
Have I been gazing on the western sky,  
And its peculiar tint of yellow green,

the astonishingly appropriate epithet 'peculiar' may be due to a reminiscence of its use in *Autumn* :—

How clear the cloudless sky ! how deeply tinged  
With a peculiar blue !

Mr. Macaulay has unravelled the intricacies of Thomson's

<sup>1</sup> i. p. 12. Cf. ii. 53-60.



revision of *The Seasons* with great care. Comparison of the interleaved copy of the 1738 edition with Lyttelton's letters has convinced him that the suggestions made in a second handwriting come from Lyttelton, and it is satisfactory to learn, not merely that Thomson by no means accepted all of them, but also that 'in the case of *Autumn* the revision of the poem seems to have been deliberately reserved for the season which it celebrates.' This loyalty to open-air impression belongs to that regard for Nature 'as a theme of epical grandeur' which 'he treats in a broadly objective manner.' This expresses Thomson's poetical creed very fairly. It is the creed of the pure artist, and if his language had been as pure he would have produced a still nobler poem than *The Seasons*. Yet, 'vicious' though his style must indeed be pronounced, there is a good deal more than that to be said about it, and the pages dealing with his language, style, rhythm, and obligation to the classics, are some of the most valuable in this treatise.

Mr. Macaulay shews throughout that well-considered judgement which conflicts at times with an admirer's taste, but wins his assent at last. It is hard not to set the first part of *The Castle of Indolence* at the head of Thomson's writings, but those first thoughts which are confirmed by third thoughts go with his juster preference for *The Seasons*. The simile of the Pigs with which the poem ends surely proves that Thomson would agree. It is not 'altogether a wrong note,' but the poet's laughing confession that he has not after all achieved 'a serious piece of work.' Even so Mr. Macaulay ends his criticism by gracefully waiving the claim for the precedence of *The Seasons* that some of Thomson's best friends would unwillingly concede. *The Castle of Indolence*, he says, 'has been appreciated rather by those who are good judges of exquisite workmanship than by the reader who is impressed only by broad general effects; and it was as appropriate that Wordsworth should have a pocket copy of *The Castle of Indolence*, as that *The Seasons* should be found by Coleridge lying well thumbed (and no doubt 'slightly torn') in the window of the inn parlour.'

*The English Grammar Schools to 1660, their Curriculum and Practice.* By FOSTER WATSON, M.A., Professor of Education in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. (Cambridge University Press. 1908.) 6s. net.

To a student of education this book is infinitely interesting in two ways: First, it reveals to us the subjects which were actually

studied and the methods which were employed in the grammar schools of our ancestors. We have had more than enough information about the theories of such men as Milton and Ascham. Secondly, it sets us thinking about a variety of subjects. For instance, we might be inclined to cry 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity' when we read of the fame of Baptista Mantuanus and reflect upon what it amounts to now; when we are told that John Owen, Headmaster of Warwick Grammar School, was spoken of as the greatest epigrammatist since the time of Martial (p. 482, n. 1); and when we glance down the names of the 118 writers of vocabularies and the 186 Latin grammars given in Solomon Lowe's grammar in 1726 (pp. 288, 467). The humorist has much to entertain him here. Did not the boys of Westminster School in Busby's time make orations in Hebrew, Arabic, and other Oriental tongues, 'to the amazement of most of their hearers, who are angry at their own ignorance, because they know not well what is then said or written'? (Hoole, quoted p. 526.) Did not the same teacher enjoin that those who were proficient in Hebrew would 'profit themselves very much' by translating *Ianua linguarum* into that language? (p. 527). Upon referring back we find that *Ianua linguarum* was a book which ignored the classics but gave encyclopaedic instruction in Latin by the aid of pictures, and 'at the same time strove to teach the grammar and construction of the vernacular Latin and other languages' (p. 291). Imagine the boys of Westminster putting this barbarous congeries of Comenius into raw Hebrew, as the climax of their intellectual career.

But it will be more profitable to ask ourselves the fundamental question, 'What was the attraction of the old grammar school education?' 'The ground of the attraction was not in the classical education as such, but in the religious element in the school constitution, which received its emphasis and support from instruction in the "holy languages," Latin, Greek, and Hebrew' (p. 531). 'The main stimulus, the outstanding motive of the whole system, seen in the statutes of foundation, both in the curriculum and in the text-books employed, is distinctly religious' (p. 534). This is true, and yet Mr. Watson would probably not deny that Brinsley and Hoole taught Latin and Greek because they thought that the elements of those languages were a good intellectual training, apart from knowledge of the Scriptures. This aspect of education must have been clear to the minds of such men. Yet, so far as we can remember, it is

nowhere referred to in Mr. Watson's book. Perhaps he regards it as too obvious to need emphasis.

In our day, too, education has this double aim, to turn out good men, and to make the young mind strong and accurate. But we have for some time been engaged in carrying through a revolution in its methods, in emancipating it from the thralldom of languages. There is no need for us to be afraid of the results of dropping much Latin and Greek if we can assure ourselves that we have found other disciplines as bracing and thorough to combine with them. In any case it is a ludicrous waste of time to revive Renaissance methods nowadays, and try to make boys speak Latin and Greek. Latin and Greek give us culture and intellectual power. Let us learn to talk French and German and English.

Mr. Watson has chosen a subject which is difficult to arrange, owing to the masses of bibliography involved. Some parts of the book are naturally more interesting than others. He is at his best in his accounts of Lily's grammar, the Colloquies, Music, and Hebrew. Where the subject is interesting, he is interesting. Still, the treatment of Greek strikes us as rather dull, and the last chapter is formless. Probably the book would have gained by being larger and fuller. Such expressions as 'determination,' 'laureation,' 'emblems,' 'chreia' (421), 'Master in glomery,' need a short note of explanation. The index, too, is very defective.

It is a work of great erudition and first-hand knowledge. The author has identified for himself the old apparatus from 'Calepine' downwards. He has also read his modern authorities, *e.g.*, Rashdall, Leach, Gasquet. It is a testimony to his skill that he makes one desire at once to read some of these epoch-making writers, now forgotten, such as Cato, Mantuan, Castiglione's *Courtier*, the dialogues of Vives and Corderius, the grammars of Lily and Camden. In these pages we see Erasmus in a new light, not as the reformer and scholar so much as the willing worker with the spade in the cause of children's education. And we feel that a debt of warm gratitude is owing to certain schools which have held up high ideals in the past to England, such as Magdalen College School at Oxford (pp. 212, 255, 498), Christ's Hospital (p. 214), Merchant Taylors' (p. 459), Westminster (p. 497). Mr. Watson's mastery of his subject is shewn by a formula of which he is fond: 'the first instance of this or that.' For example, he gives us the first book printed in Irish (p. 161), the first English manufacture of paper (p. 190), the first-mentioned use of board

and chalk (p. 197), the first Normal School (p. 224), the first English Latin grammar (p. 233), the first English book catalogue (p. 83). The book teems with illuminating and interesting facts. We have only space to refer to one or two: (a) The importance to education in the Middle Ages of the Chantries (p. 11); (b) The connexion of shorthand with Reformation sermons (p. 67); (c) A student's library in 1541 (p. 227 n.); (d) What an 'edition' meant under Elizabeth; (e) The origins of modern subjects, *i.e.* English literature, history, &c. (pp. 424, 438, 445, 453). The careful reader will glean here many facts as to the beginnings of the monitorial system, pupil-teachers, prizes at school, qualifying examinations on entrance, while the student of the English language will collect from the old writers and statutes such words as 'petits,' 'appose,' 'can,' 'let,' 'learn.'

*Prisoners of Hope : an Exposition of Dante's Purgatorio.* By the Rev. JOHN S. CARROLL, M.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) 10s. 6d.

FOR anyone desiring to read their Dante with intelligence, with sympathy, and with a knowledge of what great commentators have said upon the subject, it is difficult to imagine a better guide than the volume before us. While wrestling boldly, and often originally, with the problems of interpretation, of time, of place, etc., it avoids for the most part tedious disquisitions on points that seem unimportant to the general reader, and is, above all, a guide to the inner and spiritual, the mystical meaning that exists in Dante to a degree only surpassed by the Holy Scriptures. Its only lack, and this it shares in good company with Mr. Gardner's *Dante's Ten Heavens*, is the absence of the complete text, either in translation or in Italian. The sound originality of elucidation—sound because always based upon intimate knowledge of and comparison with the rest of the poet's thought—and the writer's insight into the spiritual side of the *Commedia*, may be illustrated by the following passage:—

'The sun, as we have seen, is regarded on the second Terrace as the opposite of Envy, . . . shining impartially on good and evil. On their first arrival on the Terrace it was to the sun Virgil turned for guidance; and now the purifying discipline has brought them face to face with it once more. . . . The Angel of Brotherly Love stands in it and gives a new and marvellous brilliance to its rays. The very ground, which was before but livid rock, is changed into a mirror which reflects the heavenly



light. It is an obvious symbol of the transfiguration of heaven and earth which takes place when envy is expelled by love.'

Mr. Carroll seems to be unacquainted with Mrs. Russell Gurney's beautiful, though professedly incomplete study, *Dante's Pilgrim's Progress*. In one or two instances, such as the passage on the singing of *In exitu Israel* in the second canto, and on the *anime donne* in the ninth ('the recipient of each benediction is anointed as a Dispenser of the healing blessing imparted'), her exposition supplements and sheds further light upon Mr. Carroll's.

The average student will be specially grateful for the clear, painstaking, and 'probable' explanation of the difficult climax usually called the Triumph of the Church, which Mr. Carroll, for well-supported reasons, prefers to name the Procession of the Spirit. This is well worth study. In conclusion, the breadth and sympathy of his view is shown by his comments on the passage :

'Blessed thou  
Among the daughters of Adam, and blessed  
Be thy beauties unto all eternity.'

To refer this (Mr. Carroll says) 'to Beatrice, as is commonly done is scarcely legitimate exegesis, unless no meaning exists which will naturally fit the Virgin. . . . After giving her as the first example of the virtue of every Terrace all up the Mountain, it would certainly be strange to ignore her entirely upon the top.' And he contrasts the lily-garlands worn by the O.T. writers, with the rose-garlands of the N.T.; 'these N.T. writers are looking back on that to which the others looked forward. Not the birth of Christ, but His *death* is their great theme. The white lilies look forward to the manger, the red roses backward to the cross. Mary is "the Rose Divine in which the Word becomes incarnate." Hence the rose is worn by N.T. writers because the Incarnation is past.' Elucidation of this kind helps not only to an understanding of the text, but to a realization of the way in which this greatest of all poems is alive and touches life at every point.

#### PERIODICALS.

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*Irish Theological Quarterly* (Vol. IV. No. 15. July 1909. Dublin: M. H. Gill). J. J. Toohey: 'The Three Kinds of Certitude.' J. Kelleher: 'Immoral Contracts.' T. Gogarty: 'The Boundaries of some Irish Dioceses.' T. J. Walshe: 'Prehistoric Types.' P. J. Toner: 'Lot of those dying in Original Sin.' P. Boylan: 'The N.T. and the newly-discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman Period.' J. MacRory: 'Tillman *Die Wiederkunft Christi*'; 'W. S. Caldecott *The Second Temple in Jerusalem*'; 'G. F. Trench *Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ.*' J. M. Harty: 'Cronin *Science of Ethics*' (4 pp.); 'N. A. Weber *History of Simony.*' P. McKenna: 'Podmore *Naturalisation of the Supernatural*'; 'Paquier *Le Jansénisme*'; 'Grimal *Le Sacerdoce et Le Sacrifice de N.S. Jésus Christ.*' J. MacCaffrey: 'B. Ward *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*' (1781-1803). P. J. Toner: 'F. J. Hall *Being and Attributes of God*' (laudatory); 'Michelet *Dieu et l'Agnosticisme contemporaine.*'



J. O'Neill: 'W. James *A Pluralistic Universe*'; 'J. O. Bevan *Genesis and Evolution of the Individual Soul*.'

*Interpreter* (Vol. V. No. 4. July 1909. Simpkin, Marshall). W. Emery Barnes: 'Micah the Prophet.' A. Menzies: 'The Bearing of Modern Biblical Study on the N.T.' R. H. Kennett: 'St. Paul's Reference to the Resurrection,' II. G. C. Binyon: 'The Incarnation and the Coming of the Kingdom of Heaven.' R. Brook: 'The Bible and Religion,' II. H. McLachlan: 'The Man Working on the Sabbath.' Luke vi 5 in Codex Bezae and the new 'Freer' fragment. T. W. Davies: 'Notes on Books and Things Hebrew.' H. W. Hogg: 'Orientalia.' H. Johnson: 'Driver *Modern Research*' (Schweich Lectures); 'Oesterley *Our Bible Text*'; 'Denney *Jesus and the Gospel*.'

*American Journal of Theology* (Vol. XIII. No. 3. July 1909. Chicago University Press). G. A. Coe: 'Religion and the Sub-conscious.' H. F. Burton: 'Seneca's Idea of God.' S. A. Cook: 'Simeon and Levi—the Problem of the O.T.' (Gen. xxxiv, xlix 5-7; Josh. xix 1, 9; not mentioned in Deut. xxxiii nor 1 Sam. xxvii, xxx). S. H. Bishop: 'Creedal Statement and the Modern Spirit.' F. H. Foster: 'The Theology of the New Rationalism.' A. Hoben: 'What has the Church a Right to demand in Theological Reconstruction?' T. W. Galloway: 'An Evolutional Argument for the Validity of Religious Faith.' J. M. P. Smith: 'Geden *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*'; 'Rothstein *Grundzüge des Hebräischen Rhythmus*'; 'Westphal *Yahwes Wohnstätten*'; 'P. Torge *Seelenglaube u. Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im A.T.*' ('the most satisfactory treatment extant'). H. Creelman: 'Barton *Ecclesiastes*' (laudatory). G. W. Gilmore: 'Breasted *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, V.' K. Kohler: 'Oesterley and Box *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*'; 'Bergmann *Jüdische Apologetik im N. T. Zeitalter*.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'Wendland *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum u. Christentum*.' E. Nestle: 'Brook and McLean *The O.T. in Greek*, I. i'; 'Helbing *Grammatik der LXX*.' H. A. A. Kennedy: 'Sharman *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future*.' W. Muss-Arnolt: 'R. H. Charles *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* (1) Greek Text, (2) Translation and Notes' (6½ pp.). S. J. Case: 'J. Warschauer *Jesus. Seven Questions*.' H. H. Tryon: 'Rutherford *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossae and Laodicea*.' R. H. Ferris: 'Abbott *Indices to Diatessarica*'; 'F. D. Norton *Lexicographical and Historical Study of "Diatheke"*.' W. A. Brown: 'W. N. Clarke *Christian Doctrine of God*.' G. B. Smith: 'H. W. Clarke *Christian Method of Ethics*'; 'J. C. Murray *Handbook of Christian Ethics*'; 'Von Haering *Ethics of the Christian Life*.' J. B. Pratt: 'G. B. Foster *Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence*'; 'Hébert *La "forme idéaliste" du sentiment religieux*' (valuable). A. W. Moore: 'J. B. Pratt *What is Pragmatism?*' J. W. Moncrief: 'Adeney *Greek and Eastern Churches*'; 'Vogt *Basil I<sup>er</sup> Empereur de Byzance*' (867-86). T. G. Soares: 'Faunce *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry*' ('notable'). 'Hejel *Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot*.' 'Kehr *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, III.'

*Princeton Theological Review* (Vol. VII. No. 3. July 1909. Princeton University Press). J. De Witt: 'John Calvin—the Man.' B. B. Warfield: 'Calvin's Doctrine of God' (55 pp.) H. Bavinck: 'Calvin and Commort Grace.' W. J. Beecher: 'The New Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopaedia of*



*Religious Knowledge, I-II.* W. B. Greene, jr.: 'Adam Religious Teachers of Greece' ('noble'). E. H. Kellogg: '*Religion and the Modern Mind.*' J. O. Boyd: 'Buckland and Griffith Thomas *Devotional Commentary, II-III*' ('admirable'); 'Lüttke *Das Heilige Land im Spiegel der Weltgeschichte.*' W. M. McPheeters: 'Gregory Canon and Text of the N.T.' (13½ pp.: critical). J. G. Machen: 'A. T. Robertson *Short Grammar of the Greek N.T.*' G. Vos: 'Meinertz *Jesus u. die Heidenmission*' (4½ pp.); 'Oosterley and Box *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue.*' B. B. Warfield: 'Misch *Geschichte der Autobiographie*' (9 pp.). C. W. Hodges: 'Herrmann *Offenbarung u. Wunder.*' C. R. Erdman: 'Dulles *The True Church*'; 'P. T. Forsyth *Positive Teaching and the Modern Mind*'; 'Mott *The Future Leadership of the Church*'; 'Faunce *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry.*'

*Review and Expositor* (Vol. VI. No. 3. July 1909. Louisville, Ky.). J. Orr: 'Need and Basis of a Doctrine of Holy Scripture.' J. J. Taylor: 'Scriptural Psychology.' G. B. Eager: 'Rev. W. Williams, D.D.' (1821-77). W. T. Whitley: 'Hill Cliff in England,' II. J. R. Sampey: 'The Moral and Religious Character of Abraham Lincoln.' J. C. Metcalf: 'Literature and Modern Preaching.' W. H. Whitsitt: 'A. T. Robertson *Epochs in the Life of Paul.*' J. H. Farmer: 'B. W. Bacon *Beginnings of Gospel Story*' (critical); 'C. B. Williams *The Participle in the Book of Acts*' ('thorough'). D. F. Estes: 'Sharman *Teaching of Jesus about the Future.*' A. T. Robertson: 'Denney *Jesus and the Gospel.*' W. O. Carver: 'Lodge *Science and Immortality*' ('very disappointing'). 'D. B. MacDonald *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam.*' G. B. Eager: 'Hoyt *The Preacher: his Person, Message and Method*'; 'F. C. Carlton *Education and Industrial Evolution*' ('masterly'). J. R. Sampey: 'Schechter *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology.*'

*Expositor* (N.S. Nos. 43-5. July-September 1909. Hodder and Stoughton). Sir W. H. Ramsay: 'Historical Commentary on 1 Timothy,' I. (II. Aug. III. Sept.) B. D. Erdmans: 'The Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue,' I. (II. Aug. III. Sept.) A. E. Garvie: 'Studies in the Pauline Theology. VII. The End of the Law' (VIII. Aug. 'The Victory over Death.' IX. Sept. 'The Purpose of God'). F. H. Woods: 'Ezekiel iv: a Psychological and Pathological Problem.' C. Lattey, S. J.: 'The Sinner in the City.' J. Rendel Harris: 'A Further Note on Testimonies in Barnabas.' E. H. Askwith: 'The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel,' I. (II. Sept.) S. Langdon: 'Babylon at the Time of the Exile,' I. (II. Aug.) August. S. A. Cook: 'Palestinian Excavation and the History of Israel.' F. R. Tennant: 'The Positive Elements in the Conception of Sin.' J. Moffatt: 'Opera Foris. Materials for the Preacher,' IX. (X. Sept.) September. D. M. Ross: 'Father Tyrrell and Protestantism.' C. E. Osborne: 'Recollections of Father Tyrrell.' Ven. G. R. Wynne: '"Mending their Nets." Note on the call of the Apostles James and John.' = 'folding,' not 'mending.'

*Expository Times* (Vol. XX. Nos. 10-12. July-September 1909. T. and T. Clark). G. M. Mackie: 'Blasphemy. A Study in the Eastern Atmosphere of the N.T.' W. C. Allen: 'Recent Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels.' W. W. Holdsworth: 'The Life of Faith.' J. H. Moulton: (1) 'Acts xxvi 30.' (2) 'Mark iii 21.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'The Greek

Text of Mark vii 11.' Reads aorist indicative for subjunctive, and translates 'That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me is Corban.' S. Daiches: 'Ps. xvii 15' = 'I, in righteousness, see Thy face (while sleeping, during the night); I am satisfied with Thy likeness while awake (during the day)' *i.e.* always. H. M. Wiener: 'The Name of God in Genesis.' E. Nestle: (1) 'Gen. xx 17, 18 and Herodotus i 105'; (2) "'Abraham rejoiced.'" 'Mansfield College Essays.' 'Figgis *The Gospel and Human Needs.*' 'Duchesne *Early History of the Christian Church*, I.' "'Sun, stand thou still.'" "'The Hope that is in you.'" Materials for the study of 1 Peter iii 15.' S. Langdon: 'Radau *Letters to Cassite Kings.*' 'R. M. Jones *Mystical Religion.*' 'Mommson *Provinces*' (new edit.) 'Glover *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire.*' 'Brook and McLean *The O.T. in Greek*, I. 2.' August. C. W. Emmet: 'M. Loisy and the Gospel Story.' A. S. Martin: 'The Originality and Absoluteness of Christianity.' A. H. Sayce: 'The Archaeology of Genesis' (iii 1-24). 'Ears of Corn.' 'The Constraint of Love. Materials for the study of 2 Cor. v 14.' D. Smith: 'The Day of the Crucifixion.' G. H. Gwilliam: 'Desiderio desideravi.' C. E. Scrimgeour: 'Ezekiel and the Phoenician Script.' 'Adler *Anglo-Jewish Memories.*' 'Sharman *Teaching of Jesus about the Future.*' 'Dearmer *Body and Soul.*' A. R. Gordon: 'La composition du Livre d'Habacuc.' J. S. Banks: 'Heinrici *Das Urchristentum.*' 'New History of Methodism.' September. J. M. E. Ross: 'The Preaching of Doom.' A. H. Sayce: 'Recent Oriental Archaeology.' J. G. Frazer: 'Hunting for Souls' (Ezek. xiii 17-21). R. M. Lithgow: 'The Lucan Parables.' A. H. Sayce: 'The Serpent in Genesis' (the Babylonian Ea). N. J. Schlögl: 'The Name of God in Genesis.' J. I. Munro: 'Gen. iv 26' = 'These men called *hopefully* upon the Name of Jehovah.' E. Nestle: (1) 'John iii. 16 and its surroundings'; (2) 'The Aramaic equivalent of "Blessed"'; (3) 'The Salt of the Earth and the Light of the World' (Matt. v. 13-16 cf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxi 9, 45 '*nihil esse utilius sale et sole.*') W. R. W. Gardner: 'Prof. Briggs on Ps. i.—a suggestion.' 'Resurrectio Christi.' 'Stone *The Holy Eucharist.*' 'A. J. Edmunds *Buddhist and Christian Gospels.*'

Churchman (N.S. Vol. XXIII. Nos. 43-5. July-September 1909. E. Stock). Very Rev. H. Wace: 'John Calvin.' J. Orr: 'Biblical Criticism and its Critics.' M. E. Ames: 'Vigilantius of Gaul.' J. F. Coote: 'Spiritual Phenomena in the Light of Electrical Science.' W. H. Aitken: 'Mason *Memoir of G. H. Wilkinson.*' F. Sherlock: 'Finlayson *Life of Canon Fleming.*' E. H. Blakeney: 'Ramsay *Luke the Physician.*' W. E. Chadwick: 'Westermarck *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, II.' 'H. C. King *Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life.*' August. Bishop of Durham: 'Tennyson.' R. E. Speer: 'Foreign Missions and Christian Unity.' A. C. Robinson: 'The Day of Atonement and the Vanished Ark.' E. H. Blakeney: 'Letters of St. Jerome.' I. G. Smith: 'William Basil Jones.' G. Karney: 'The Memorial Name' (Pss. ix 10, lxxxvi 11 etc.). W. St. C. Tisdall: 'Marett *Threshold of Religion.*' 'C. H. Robinson *Studies in the Resurrection.*' 'Findlay *Fellowship in the Life Eternal.*' 'Bigg *The Spirit of Christ in Common Life.*' 'Peile *Ecclesia discens.*' 'F. Spence *Christian Reunion.*' September. J. Stalker: 'The Problem of Home Reunion.' Bishop Thornton: 'The Cup in Holy Communion.'

G. Bladon: 'A New View of the Synoptic Problem.' E. A. Eardley-Wilmot: 'Prayer-Book Revision.' G. G. Coulton: 'Father Tyrrell and the Jesuits.' W. S. Horton: 'A Living Church. A Study in Acts xi 19-30, xiii 1-3.' M. Ransom: 'The Value of Training for Women.' A. H. Sayce: 'Conder City of Jerusalem.' 'Faunce Educational Ideal in the Ministry.'

*Catholic World* (Vol. LXXXIX. Nos. 532-4. July-September 1909. New York). J. A. Ryan: 'A Programme of Social Reform by Legislation,' I. (II. Aug.). E. G. Gardner: 'Dante and his Celtic Precursors,' II. J. Bricout: 'The Wonders of Lourdes,' I. (II. Aug. III. Sept.). W. Wilberforce: 'Pre-Tractarian Oxford' (Sept. 'Six Oxford Thinkers'). 'Duchesne *Early History of the Church*.' 'P. Collier *England and the English from an American Point of View*.' August. L. J. O'Hern: 'Is Bishop Grafton Fair? An Answer to *A Rejoinder*.' J. Prendergast, S. J.: 'The End of a Long Journey.' E. de Courson: 'A Modern Saint,' (M. Philibert Vrau of Lille, †1905). M. J. Costello: 'Church and State in France.' 'P. E. More *The Shelburne Essays*.' 'W. James *A Pluralistic Universe*.' September. F. P. Duffy: 'President Eliot among the Prophets.' W. H. Kent: 'Scholastic Criticism and Apologetics.' J. A. Ryan: 'The Church and the Workingman.' J. H. Le B. Girdlestone: 'Did the Church burn Joan of Arc?' 'Grafton *Pro-Romanism and the Tractarian Movement*.'

*Edinburgh Review* (No. 429. July 1909. Longmans). 'South African Union.' 'The Mystical Element in Religion.' 'The Naturalist Transition in French Fiction.' 'Fallacies and Superstitions.' 'The Problem of Hungary.' 'Modern Dutch Painting.' 'Frontiers Ancient and Modern.' 'Richard Jefferies.'

*Quarterly Review* (No. 420. July 1909. Murray). E. B. Poulton: 'The Centenary of Darwin: Darwin and his Modern Critics.' W. Leaf: 'The Making of an Epic. Firdausi and Homer.' A. Dobson: 'A Journal of the French Revolution' (Cléry). B. Dobell: 'New Light upon Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia."' (The late) G. Tyrrell: 'The Mystical Element of Religion.' F. Y. Eccles: 'Recent French Poetry; and Racine.' Sir M. Conway: 'Early Flemish Painters.' M. Baring: 'Tolstoy and Turgenev.' J. A. A. Marriott: 'George Canning and his Friends.' 'The Centenary of *The Quarterly Review*. Conclusion' (Illustrated).

*English Historical Review* (Vol. XXIV. No. 95. July 1909. Longmans). H. W. C. Davis: 'The Liberties of Bury St. Edmunds.' C. Perkins: 'The Trial of the Knights Templars in England.' C. Brinkmann: 'The Relations between England and Germany, 1660-88.' G. B. Adams: 'London and the Commune.' H. C. Foxcroft: 'An Early Recension of Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*.' W. A. Goligher: 'Hogarth *Ionian and the East*.' E. M. Walker: 'Bury Ancient Greek Historians.' F. G. Kenyon: 'Traube *Vorlesungen u. Abhandlungen*, I.' J. B. Bury: 'Vogt *Basile I<sup>er</sup>, Empereur de Byzance*' (critical). G. T. Lapsley: 'G. R. Lewis *The Stannaries*.' H. Johnstone: 'Wilson and Gordon *Early Comptus Rolls of the Priory of Worcester*.' A. C. Clark: 'Sandys *History of Classical Scholarship*, II-III.' (6 pp.) E. Armstrong: 'Bemmann *Zur Geschichte des Reichstages im XV. Jahrhundert*.' R. S.



Rait : 'Kingsford Stowe's Survey of London.' W. E. Rhodes : 'Cambridge Modern History, V.' J. Bonar : 'Egerton and Grant Canadian Constitutional Development.' 'Conder The City of Jerusalem' (critical). 'Allcroft Earthwork of England.' E. W. W[atson] : 'Browne Alcuin of York.' T. F. T[out] : 'Brown Register of William Wickwane, Archbishop of York' (1279-85).

*Economic Review* (Vol. XIX. No. 3. July 1909. Rivingtons). J. C. Pringle : 'The Belgian Detention Colony at Merxplas.' D. A. Barker : 'Co-operative Credit in India.' F. W. Baggallay : 'Child Labour in Factories and Workshops.' E. G. Selwyn : 'The Contribution of Religion to Politics.' J. C. Pringle : 'Legislation, Parliamentary Inquiries, and Official Returns.' Interesting and useful. W. A. Spooner : 'McDougall Introduction to Social Psychology' and 'Wallas Human Nature in Politics' (8 pp.) R. L. Ottley : 'A. Carnegie Problems of To-day'; 'Barnett Towards Social Reform.'

*Classical Quarterly* (Vol. III. No. 3. July 1909. Nutt). W. Scott : 'The "Mountain-Mother" Ode in the *Helena* of Euripides.' J. Cook Wilson : 'On Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromateis*, IV. 23.' E. O. Winstedt : 'Some Coptic Legends about Roman Emperors.' W. H. D. Rouse : 'Littmann and Prentice Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria.'

*Contemporary Review* (Nos. 523-5. July-September 1909. Horace Marshall). A. Weismann : 'Charles Darwin.' G. K. Chesterton : 'The Moral Philosophy of Meredith.' W. Emery Barnes : 'The Case against the Athanasian Creed.' H. S. Jevons : 'The Causes of Unemployment. II. Trade Unionism and Over-supply of unskilled Labour' (III. Aug. 'Trade Fluctuations and Solar Activity'). A. E. Keeton : 'The Music of Max Reger.' E. W. Cook : 'Our unrealized Divine Sonship.' J. E. G. de Montmorency : 'Literature and the People.' 'Cambridge History of English Literature, III.' 'New History of Methodism.' 'C. Holland Tyrol and its People.' August. A. Harnack : 'International and National Christian Literature : An Address.' Sir J. G. Scott : 'A Chinese Solomon.' Count S. C. de Soissons : 'Brunetière.' (The late) M. Solovieff : 'The Resurrection of Christ. A Letter to Count Tolstoy.' W. R. Hadwen : 'Malta Fever and Goats' Milk.' 'G. M. Harper C. A. Sainte-Beuve.' 'Wade-Evans The Lays of Howel the Good.' 'C. E. Woods The Gospel of Rightness. A Study in Pauline Philosophy.' September. "Grandelle" : 'Roman Imperialism.' Criticizes the *Curia*. M. Macnicol : 'Spiritual Forces in India.' N. H. Marshall : 'Empires and Races.' E. M. Caillard : 'Christianity and Subjective Science.' E. A. Foord : 'The Repulse of the Saracens from Europe.' E. Gosse : 'The Writings of M. André Gide.' H. Bosanquet : 'The Local Distribution of Poverty.' "Museus" : 'In an Ancient House.' 'Toynbee Dante in English Literature.' 'W. W. Jackson Dante's Convivio.' 'Sandys History of Classical Scholarship, II-III.' 'Watson Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England.' 'W. L. Cross Laurence Sterne.' 'Seton-Watson Racial Problems in Hungary.' 'Drage Austria-Hungary.' 'J. O. Bevan Genesis and Evolution of the Individual Soul.'

*Revue Biblique* (N.S. Vol. VI. No. 3. July 1909. Paris : Lecoffre). 'Litterae apostolicae quibus pontificium institutum biblicum in urbe erigitur.' M. J. Lagrange : 'La parabole en dehors de l'Évangile. II. Le



machal sémitique.' P. Dhorme: 'Les pays bibliques au temps d'El-Amarna,' III. M. Abel: 'Une croisière sur la mer Morte, II.' Illustrated. J. Labourt: 'Le cinquième livre d'Esdras.' H. Vincent: (1) 'Les fouilles américaines à Samarie'; (2) 'Glanures archéologiques.' Illustrated. M. Abel: 'Nouvelles inscriptions de Djérach.' Illustrated. H. Vincent: 'Dalman *Petra u. seine Felsheiligtümer*' (8 pp.). L. Gry: 'N. Schmidt *The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch.*' 'W. Jordan *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought.*' 'Rothstein *Grundzüge des hebraischen Rhythmus.*' 'Dujardin *Les Prédécesseurs de Daniel.*' 'Hontheim *Das Hohelied.*' 'Nau *Histoire et sagesse d'Ahikar l'Assyrien.*' 'Durand *L'Enfance de Jésus-Christ.*' 'Ollivier *Les Paraboles.*' 'Le Roy *La Religion des Primitifs.*' 'Deissmann *Philology of the Greek Bible.*' 'Mayser *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit.*'

*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (Vol. IV. No. 2. 1909. Paris: 20, rue du Regard). F. Nau: (1) Littérature canonique syriaque inédite. Concile d'Antioche. Lettre d'Italie. Canons "des Saints Pères," de Philoxène, de Théodose d'Anthime, d'Athanase, etc.' II.; (2) 'Un fragment syriaque des "voyages" de S. Pierre' (MS. Paris. syr. 179); (3) 'Note sur le titre "Tegourta Heraclidis"'; (4) 'Les suffragants d'Antioche au milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.' (MS. Paris. suppl. graec. 1226). S. Grébaut: 'Vie de Barsoma le Syrien (texte éthiopien, traduction française),' II. L. Leroy: 'Histoire d'Haikar le sage (texte des mss. arabes 3637 et 3656 de Paris, avec traduction française),' III. M. Brière: 'Histoire de Jean le Siloïte (texte syriaque, traduction française).' From MS. Bodl. Marsh 13. R. Griveau: 'Notices des mss. arabes chrétiens entrés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris depuis la publication du catalogue.' S. Vailhé: 'Saint Euthyme le grand, moine de Palestine (376-473),' VI. S. Pétridès: 'Le chrysobulle de Manuel Comnène (1148) sur les biens d'Eglise.' From MS. Bodl. Barocc. 131. S. Grébaut: 'Mahler *Grammatik der amharischen Sprache.*' F. Nau: 'Tisserant *Ascension d'Isaïe*'; 'Chrysostomika, II., III.'

*Analecta Bollandiana* (Tom. XXVIII. Fasc. iii. July 1909. Brussels). P. Peeters: 'Une Passion arménienne de S. Georges.' A. Poncelet: 'La Vie de S. Gombert d'Ansbach.' H. Moretus, S. J.: 'Les reliques de la cathédrale d'Osnabruck en 1343.' H. Delehaye: 'Catalogus codd. hagiograph. graec. regii monasterii S. Laurentii Scorialensis.' U. Chevalier: 'Repertorium hymnologicum. Supplementum alterum.' P. [Peeters]: 'Basset *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite* (rédaction copte),' II.; 'Nau *Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahikar l'Assyrien*'; 'Génier *Vie de S. Euthyme le grand* (377-473). H. D[elehaye]: 'Besnier *Les catacombes de Rome*'; 'Frothingham *Monuments of Christian Rome*' (favourable); 'C. D. Cobham *Excerpta Cypria*'; 'Sdraler *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, VI.'; 'Klette *Die Christenkatastrophe unter Nero*'; 'Grütmacher *Hieronymus*, III.'; 'Setz *Die Verehrung des hl. Joseph bis zum Konzil von Trient*' (favourable). [F. R.] V[an] O[rtruy]: 'Boehmer *Chronica Fratris Jordani*'; 'E. G. Gardner *S. Catherine of Siena*'; 'Pollen *A briefe Historie of the glorious Martyrdom of . . . Fr. Edmund Campion and his Companions*'; 'Œuvres de S. François de Sales, XV.'

*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Vol. X. No. 3. July 1909. Louvain). J. Mahé: 'La sanctification d'après S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie,' II. J. M

Vidal : 'Un recueil manuscrit des sermons prononcés aux conciles de Constance et de Bâle.' R. Ancel : 'La réconciliation de l'Angleterre avec le Saint-Siège sous Marie Tudor. Légation du Cardinal Polus en Angleterre' (1553-4), I. G. Denteneer : 'Wellhausen, Harnack and others *Die christliche Religion*' (15 pp. 'un livre de vulgarisation, et non un livre scientifique'). A. Lemonnyer : 'Tobac *Le problème de la Justification dans S. Paul.*' H. Coppieters : 'Heer *Die Versio latina des Barnabasbriefes*' ('indispensable'). É. Tobac : 'Neubert *Marie dans l'Église anté-nicéenne.*' L. Guilloreau : 'Albers *Consuetudines monasticae*, III.' M. Vaes : 'Halphen *L'Administration de Rome*' (751-1252); 'Schmidlin *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalkirche S. Maria dell' Anima in Rom.*' (5 pp.) A. Palmieri : 'L. K. Goetz *Staat u. Kirche in Altrussland*' (988-1240). P. Fournier : 'Gottlob *Kreuzablass u. Almosenablass.*' (10 pp.) R. de Smedt : 'Bindschedler *Kirchliches Asylrecht.*' R. de Schepper : 'Susta *Die Römische Kurie u. das Konzil von Trient.*' L. Willaert : 'Pollen *Unpublished Documents relating to the English Martyrs*, I. (1584-1603).' J. Warichez : 'Œuvres de S. François de Sales, XV.' P. Tériond : 'Boutard *Lamennais.*'

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*Teologisk Tidsskrift* (Vol. X. No. 5. 1909. Copenhagen : G. E. C. Gad). F. Torm : 'Det synoptiske Problem.' L. Glahn : 'Bennewitz *Die Sünde im alten Israel*.' ; Köberle *Sünde u. Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel*.' J. O. Andersen : 'Balleine *History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*.' L. Thomsen : 'Kähler *Angewandte Dogmen*.' C. Glarbo : 'Krarup *Jesus, Guds Søn*.' C. T. Lund : 'C. Koch *Jesu Lignelser*.'

*Church Missionary Review* (Vol. LX. Nos. 723-5. July-September 1909. C.M.S.). Sir A. Fraser : 'Indian Missions.' W. R. Miller : 'N. Nigeria. Two Outlooks.' W. E. S. Holland : 'The Hostel as a Contribution to the Evangelistic Efficiency of Educational Missions.' E. T. Butler and others : 'Native Church Organization in India,' I. (II. Aug. III. Sept.) E. T. Sandys : 'The Evangelization of Calcutta.' 'Dumelow *Commentary on the Bible*' (laudatory). August. Sir J. A. Bourdillon : 'The Opportunity of the Unrest in India.' E. M. Stuart : 'The Social Condition of Women in Moslem Lands.' H. U. Weitbrecht : 'Literature for Moslems.' 'A Chinese Statesman (T'Ang K'ai-Sun) on the Opium Traffic.' 'George Brown, D.D. *An Autobiography*.' September. W. C. Penn : 'The Hope of India.' W. St. C. Tisdall : 'Church History and Modern Missions. I. Recurring Problems.' C. H. A. Field : 'A Persian Mystic—Jalaluddin Rumi.' 'Bishop of Durham *Faith : its Nature and Work*.'

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BÜCHLER, A.—*The Political and the Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris in the Second and Third Centuries*. 'Jews' College,

London, Publications,' No. 1. Pp. 92. (Jews' College, Queen Square House, London, W.C.)

COHU, J. R.—*The Gospels in the Light of Modern Research*. Pp. xxviii + 598 + vi. (Oxford : Parker.) 6s. net.

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OTTLEY, R. L.—*Christian Ideas and Ideals*. An Outline of Christian Ethical Theory. Pp. xiv + 400. (Longmans.) 7s. 6d. net.

RIDSDALE, A. C.—*Essay on Modern Metaphysical Philosophy in its Attitude towards Christianity*. Pp. 32. (London and Calcutta : Thacker.) 2s. net.



SNELL, L. W.—*Causality and the Christian Faith*. Pp. 14. (Ypsilanti, Michigan: The Scharf Co.) Paper read before the Detroit Clericus, January 4, 1909, and printed for private circulation.

TISDALL, W. ST. C.—*Mythic Christs and the True: a Criticism of some Modern Theories*. Pp. viii+94. (North London Christian Evidence League, 11-12 High Street, Hampstead, N.W.)

WEBB, C. C. J.—*Joannis Sarisberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*. Recognovit et Prolegomenis, Apparatu critico, Commentario, Indicibus instruxit. Tomi II. Pp. i+368, viii+512. (Clarendon Press.) 36s. net.

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CARTER, C. S.—*The English Church in the Seventeenth Century*. 'Anglican Church Handbooks.' Pp. 128. (Longmans.) 1s. net.

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*Church Socialist Quarterly* (formerly *The Optimist*). July 1909. Pp. 181-270. (London: New Age Press, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. 6d. net.

*Moravian Missions*. An Illustrated Record of Missionary Work. Vol. VII. No. 8. August 1909. Pp. 141-160. (London: Moravian Mission Agency, 32 Fetter Lane, E.C.) 1d. Contains pictures connected with the General Synod at Herrnhut. See Article.

*Mowbray's Guide to Oxford*. With Plan and Illustrations. Pp. 50. (Mowbray.) 1d. Of its kind an excellent little book.

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